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THE LIFE OF BUDDHA



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THE LIFE OF BUDDHA

ON THE STŪPA OF BARABUḌUR

ACCORDING TO

THE LALITAVISTARA-TEXT

EDITED BY

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1920

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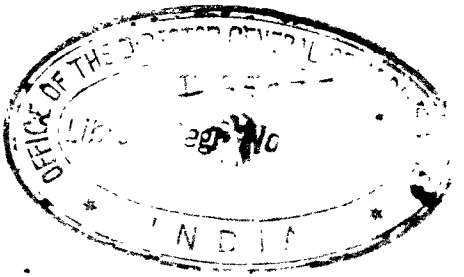
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INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of our era, when the interchange of trade between South India and the East Indian Archipelago gradually led to the colonisation of Java, Sumatra and other islands, the Buddhist religion was brought over with the new civilisation. It was the creed of the Hīnayāna that first gained most adherents, till in the course of the 8th century a great change took place, politically as well as in religion and art. The kingdom of Çrīvijaya, whose centre was the present Palembang in Sumatra, developed itself by degrees into a maritime power and with its political influence Mahāyānist Buddhism gained the ascendancy.

This movement soon made itself felt in Java, where the focus of civilisation at that time was in the centre of the island. The dynasty then ruling was driven back to the East, and Middle Java came under the power of the Çailendra's, the same royal house that was ruling in Çrīvijaya. At the same time the Mahāyāna established itself, so that the rule of the Çailendra's, from about 750 to 850 A.D. is also the date of the great Mahāyānist monuments.

The most important of these is the stūpa of Barabudur, erected in the first part of this period on the plain of Kĕdu, right in the centre of Java. The stūpa, as we know, is originally a memorial, that owes its importance to the relics preserved beneath it, or the events it commemorates. By degrees it became a symbolic building representative of the whole Buddhism and its creed of salvation [1]. In this way the designer of Barabudur also created the sanctuary as a symbolic building: tradition gives his name as Gunadharma.

Stūpa's were built in the style of a massive dome- or clock-shaped middle part crowned by a pinnacle and resting on a square pedestal; generally they were erected on level ground, but in the case of Barabudur, a hill found in the

[1] *For aim and intention of stūpa's see Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra I (1905), and De Groot, Der Thâpa (1919).*

landscape was made use of, which so to say, was covered with a mantle of stone. For that purpose the sides of the hill were cut into terraces, and enclosed in four square galleries and three circular platforms one above the other. On the top of the highest platform rises the central stūpa. In accordance with the cosmic significance of the building, the galleries are richly decorated, but the platforms which, in contrast to the phenomenal world below, are intended to represent the region of formlessness, have been left unadorned.

Rows of reliefs take the most important place in the decoration of the galleries. The reliefs represent texts that were intended to impress lessons of wisdom on the believer's mind as he ascended the stūpa, and so to prepare him for the attainment of the Highest Insight that the Mahāyāna brings before his eyes. In this way he was also spiritually brought on a higher plane as he approached the central stūpa.

One of these sacred texts will be of interest to a wider circle, as it contains the life-story of the historic Buddha, who preached the creed of salvation to us. There appears to be good reason for a separate publication of the important series of reliefs on the first gallery, representing this text, the Lalitavistara. Not only it is in itself a most holy and authoritative work of Mahāyāna doctrine and one of the most important sources for the life of Buddha [1], but moreover the circumstance that the Sanskrit text is still extant in the same (or almost the same) redaction as used on Barabuḍur, makes it possible to quote the actual passages that had to be depicted by the sculptors.

When new photographs had been made of the monument during the work of restoration (1907–1911), the Dutch Government published a detailed description of Barabuḍur [2], an English translation of which is in preparation. It is the chapter of this work containing the above mentioned Lalitavistara-reliefs that is now brought out separately. For all other particulars of the monument and of Javanese Buddhism, the reader is referred to the complete edition.

K.

[1] *For the text itself see Winternitz, Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur II, 1 (1913), p. 194-201*

[2] *Archaeologische beschrijving van Barabudur. The Hague, Nijhoff, 1920 An architectural description by T. van Erp is to follow.*

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA
ON BARABUḌUR

It has long been known that the top row of reliefs on the chief wall of this gallery represents the life-story of the historic Buddha, and it seems quite unnecessary to discuss this fact again. As far as we know, it was Wilsen who first attempted to trace this more or less consecutive story by means of the reliefs ; his article, offered to the Batavian Society for publication, was never printed but put into the hands of Leemans who inserted it in his monograph [1]). It was not until 1901 that a careful comparison of the scenes depicted on the monument with the text followed, took place; this was done by C. M. Pleyte in his: "Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Tempels von Bôrô-Budur" [2]). This text is the Lalitavistara, which on being compared bit by bit with Wilsen's drawings, with a few unimportant exceptions, gives the key for the explanation of the reliefs. The sculptors of Barabuḍur have not had exactly the same version of the text before them that we now possess, but at any rate, a sūtra that in all essentials agrees with it. [3]).

Pleyte's very useful work does not however relieve us from the task of examining the text and reliefs anew, especially because for both, we now have at our disposal much more reliable material than was available twenty-five years ago. Pleyte, as mentioned, was restricted to Wilsen's drawings. It is true that a visit to the monument enabled him to correct various inaccuracies in these drawings which were adjusted before reproduction in his book [4]), but nevertheless the drawings though

[1]) Bôrô Boedoer op het eiland Java, Brill 1873; French translation 1874

[2]) Amsterdam, De Bussy 1901, in 12 parts

[3]) A parallel to such an illustrated history of Buddha will be found in the reproduction of the Avidurenidāna at Pagān which Seidenstucker treats of in his Südbuddhistische Studien I, Mitt. aus dem Mus f. Völkerk. in Hamburg IV (1916)

[4]) Vorwort p V

only incorrect in minor details, proved incomplete as foundation for a comparison with the text [1]). As for the text itself Pleyte had to manage with translations [2]) ; even if he had wanted to consult the original Sanskrit text, the results would hardly have been satisfactory on account of Rájendralála Mitra's inadequate edition, at that time the only one in existence. We are much better off now-a-days, van Erp's excellent photographs can be used, and the maybe not perfect, but on the whole reliable edition of Lefmann [3]) is at our disposal.

Other differences too, will be found between the method of treatment followed here below, and that of Pleyte. As the title of his work indicates, he is concerned only with the 'Buddha-legende' as illustrated by the reliefs on this gallery, while on the contrary, my aim is chiefly to explain the reliefs themselves. For instance, if we find, quite rightly, in Pleyte a rather elaborate discussion of portions of the text that are not depicted on the reliefs, but which nevertheless are indispensable for the coherence of the story as a whole, in this archaeological description I consider elaboration justified only in what concerns the scenes that appear on the monument so that as regards everything not there depicted, a mere reference will be sufficient. Further I have carefully tried to make it possible for the reader to form his own opinion as to the correctness of the identifications. As it would be of little use to fill up this description with quotations from the Sanskrit, I think the best way to make it clear will be to translate, as literally as possible, those portions of the text that are represented on the relief, giving besides this portion of the text, a short description of the relief itself, that is, of the manner in which the sculptors have depicted the passage in question and then of course to indicate the divergence of detail between text and relief.

Still this way of treatment is not quite safe. It is always difficult enough to discern which particular details must be considered essential in a description, and though in some cases this difficulty can be

[1]) Jochim after visiting the Barabuḍur, draws attention to some inaccuracies in Tijdschr. Bat Gen 48 (1905) p 13—20 As these drawings need no longer be made use of, we need not call attention to the remarks of Jochim or any later authority; notwithstanding their evident unreliability, in 1922 another „Verkleinerte Wiedergabe der Umrisszeichnungen von F. C Wilsen" appeared in Germany under the title „Die Buddha-legende auf den Flachreliefs der ersten Galerie des Stûpa von Boro-Budur "

[2]) Anhang p. 177

[3]) I (Text) Halle 1902. The objections are mentioned by Speyer, Museum 10 (1903) p 146—151. A French translation of the Lalitavistara is given by Foucaux in Annales Musée Guimet 6 (1884).

avoided by an unabridged translation of the whole piece of text under discussion, on the other hand it is not advisable to do this if the scene represented on the relief consists of whole pages of the Lalitavistara. In such cases abridgment is inevitable and for these I have used my own judgment. Of course I have tried everywhere to be as careful as possible to maintain an objective point of view, but the reader must be warned that where it has not been possible to quote the whole Lalitavistara, here and there, in reliefs that include large portions of the text, some bits of useful data can still be found in the portions that have been left out in my quotation. In the few cases where the relief could not be explained from the text or in which it was not clear which of two similar passages was the one represented, the fact is carefully noted.

1. *The Bodhisattva in the Tuṣita-heaven*

> The Bodhisattva dwelt in the pleasant abode of the Tuṣita (heaven), worthy of honor and adored, having received the consecration, lauded, honored, praised and glorified by a hundred thousand gods. When he was seated there beatified, in that great palace which resounded with the music of a hundred thousand million koṭi's of apsaras (nymphs), while jyotis-, mālikā- and sumanas-blossoms exhaled their perfume and which was so placed that a hundred thousand million koṭi's of gods fixed their eyes thereon, there rose up from the sounds of harmony of eightyfour thousand tūrya's (musical instruments), as a fruit of the accumulation of the Bodhisattva's former good deeds, these inspiring hymns.... "Now is the time come, let it not pass unused" (7:21; 10:19, 22; 11:3, 7; 13:5)[1].

On the relief we see the Bodhisattva between four apsaras, seated on a throne in a sort of pavilion. That this building bears little resemblance to the description (not given above) of the splendors of the magnificent palace in the Tuṣita-heaven, is due only to the fact of it being utterly impossible to represent all that grandeur on a relief, where of course the persons must remain of the most importance. As was to be expected, the Bodhisattva is clothed in the ceremonial robes appropiate to gods and princes. Right and left of the pavilion, we see in two

[1]) Pages and lines of the edition-Lefmann.

rows the homage-paying inhabitants of the heaven, among them many apsaras and musicians; to give a distinct heavenly touch to the scene the front persons of the top row are placed upon clouds. The first nymph on the left holds an incense-burner, one of the next a dish with jewels; what the nearest on the right holds is not distinct, the second one seems to have a tiara. Among the music instruments we see, as usual on such occasions, vīṇā, cither, flute, cymbals and a great many drums. May be these represent the tūrya's of the text. Not quite in agreement with the performing apsaras there mentioned, is the fact that all the musicians are men, and therefore gandharva's. Both the persons in front on the clouds, on both sides, are not wearing the usual god's dress but what resembles that of brahmans; so they are recognisable as dwellers of Brahmā's heaven.

2. *The Bodhisattva announces his approaching human birth*

> Leaving the great vimāna the Bodhisattva sat down in the great palace called Dharmoccaya and expounded the Law to the Tuṣita-gods. He entered this palace and seated himself upon the lion-throne called Sudharma. Thereupon all the gods sons who share the state of the Bodhisattva and are found in the same Vehicle, entered the palace. And the Bodhisattva's of the ten winds came together, those who follow the same rule of life as the Bodhisattva, with the gods sons; they also entered the palace and set themselves each on his own lion-throne. As soon as the crowds of apsaras and the lesser gods sons were departed, they were a company of sixty eight thousand koṭi's all sunk together in pious meditation. Then (were the words uttered): "After twelve years shall the Bodhisattva descend into a mother's womb" (13 : 9).

The Bodhisattva is seated on a throne in a pavilion with one female attendant near him, while, in a distinctly conversational attitude, he turns to the company of gods and Bodhisattva's seated under a pĕndåpå, the first man of which is making a sĕmbah. The third wears a rather unusual headdress which it is not easy to see the meaning of; was the intention to distinguish in some way the costume of the gods from that of the Bodhisattva's, then this person would not have been the only one. Quite on the right of the pavilion are seated two more

listeners; the first one is also making a sĕmbah, the second holds an utpala; these persons are also put under a pĕndåpå-roof and evidently belong to the same company of gods and Bodhisattva's. None of them are sitting on the lion-thrones required by the text nor does the seat of the Bodhisattva shew any sign of the lion-throne mentioned.

3. *The sons of the gods, as brahmans, give instruction in the veda's*

> Thereupon the Çuddhāvāsa gods sons betook themselves to India and after laying aside their divine forms and assuming the dress of brahmans, they gave instruction to the brahmans in the veda's (13 : 21).

Then follows the description of what was taught, chiefly concerning the manner in which the Bodhisattva, should he after his birth wish to become ruler of the world, might acquire the seven jewels of the cakravartin.

This relief is very much damaged and part of it is entirely missing. Right, at the top, two heavenly beings on clouds; undoubtedly the descent to India. The rest of the scene is taken up with the lecture, given by a brahman (a god of course in brahman dress) seated, with a pupil, in a small pĕndåpå, to the company seated in front of him. This company consists of two groups. In front sit the real brahmans recognisable by their style of hairdressing; note the rich ornements they wear. Only a few have beards and most of them hold lontar-leaves in their hand. Of this group only those seated in the foreground have been saved; behind these were also some figures standing, most of them have disappeared. Quite on the right, under the hovering gods, the second group are seated, the pupils, some holding the folded and square vessels often seen with brahman-pupils.

4. *The disappearance of the Pratyekabuddha's*

> Meanwhile other gods sons descended to India and informed the Pratyekabuddha's: "O reverend ones, leave open the field for the Buddha. After twelve years the Bodhisattva will descend into a mother's womb."
>
> At that time there lived in Benares in the deer-park at Ṛṣipa-

tana, five hundred Pratyekabuddha's. On hearing these words, they rose to the height of seven tāla-trees in the air, and reaching the kingdom of fire, they were extinguished like meteors (18: 11, 20).

Below, on the left, we see by the two gazelles couched under the trees, that the deerpark at Benares is meant; above this the gods sons are descending from the air to announce the coming of the Buddha to the Pratyekabuddha's. These are seated, three of them, in dhyāna-mudrā, each on a lotus-cushion beneath a tree, they look just like ordinary Buddha's. A fourth, quite to the right, has already risen from his lotus-cushion and is ascending to reach the nirvāṇa. Pleyte's observation (on p. 10) that the three objects on the right hand of the still-seated Pratyekabuddha's, i. e. a plant without flower, a plant in bloom, and a lighted lamp, may have some relation to the three yāna's, viz. the Çrāvaka's, Pratyekabuddha's and Bodhisattva's, is not acceptable seeing that the text as well as the relief shew that the persons in question are exclusively Pratyekabuddha's and not Çrāvaka's or Bodhisattva's.

The Bodhisattva now takes into consideration the time, the part of the world, the country and family into which he shall be born. The last question is also discussed by the gods sons and the Bodhisattva's and they request the Bodhisattva that it may be as the son of king Çuddhodana and queen Māyā. It is not impossible that this discussion is depicted on the next relief; because otherwise the 4th chapt. of the Lalitavistara would not be represented on any relief.

5. *The Bodhisattva instructs the Tuṣita-gods in the Introduction to the perception of the Law*

And when the Bodhisattva had thus fixed the family for his human birth, it was the great palace called Uccadhvaja in the Tuṣita-heaven spreading over sixty-four yojana's, wherein seated the Bodhisattva was explaining the Law to the Tuṣita-gods.... All the Tuṣita-gods sons and the hosts of apsaras were gathered together in that palace.... There the Bodhisattva seated himself on the lion-throne adorned by the stream of his ripened merits.

Thereupon the Bodhisattva again addressed that great company of gods and spake thus: "Give ear, most worthy ones, as

sign of the descent and to the joy of the gods, to the Introduction to the perception of the Law which the Bodhisattva's teach to these gods sons. One hundred and eightfold, o reverend ones, is this Introduction to the perception of the Law, which of necessity, at the time of his descent, must be proclaimed by a Bodhisattva to the congregation of gods." (29:13; 30:1, 7; 31:8).

The Bodhisattva is here too in a separate pavilion, seated with his right hand (knocked off) raised, teaching. On the front of his throne there are two rosettes. Right and left sit the divine auditors, a few trees appear in the background; the first on the right holds an incense-burner with a fan, the left one a flowerbud, several of them are making a sĕmbah. The lion-throne of the text is here also missing; as well as the apsaras mentioned, for the company consists of men only; a fact that might be used to identify this relief as the above mentioned discussion about the family to be selected, but seeing the latitude taken in so many details, I think it not convincing. Notice further that the persons sitting on the left, like the Bodhisattva himself, for all we can distinguish wear a wide sash, not those on the right; as this attribute is found elsewhere especially on Bodhisattva's, it is possibly meant for a distinction between the Bodhisattva's and the gods who make up the audience. In that case it is noticeable that on No. 2 where the text clearly mentions the two sorts, this distinction is not given and on No. 5, where only gods are mentioned, it is put in.

The teaching in the Tuṣita-heaven is also the subject of a relief at Amarāvatī [1]). There, the Bodhisattva also sits on a throne in the middle and the gods are gathered round him; not in the same two, long seated rows as on Barabuḍur, but, most likely because of the shape of the relief, in a group kneeling, sitting and standing in front, at the sides and behind the throne. The vitarka-mudrā of the Bodhisattva and the reverent manner of the listeners, plainly indicate here that he is preaching. Different is a Gandhāra-relief shewing a meditation in the Tuṣita-heaven [2]): the Bodhisattva is represented in dhyāna-mudrā while on each side of him four gods, in

[1]) Fergusson, Tree and Serpent Worship (1873) pl 74 and Burgess, The Buddhist stûpas of Amarâvatî and Jaggayyapeṭa, Arch Surv New Ser 5 (1887) fig 17 on pag 64 See also Foucher, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra I (1905) fig 146 pag 287

[2]) Foucher, Les basreliefs du stûpa de Sikri, Journ Asiat 10. 2 (1903) no 8, and A.G B. fig 145 pag 286

adoring attitude, are standing. This scene also occurs at Ajaṇṭā. [1]).

6. *The Bodhisattva gives his tiara to his successor Maitreya*

> Thus spake the Bodhisattva to the blessed company of gods: "Most honorable ones, I will go to India.... It would ill become me and shew ingratitude, did I not acquire the most high and perfect Wisdom". Whereupon the Tuṣita-gods sons wept and clasped the feet of the Bodhisattva saying unto him: "This dwelling of Tuṣita, o noble one, when thou art departed, will not shine any more". Then the Bodhisattva spoke as follows to the great company of gods: "Behold, here, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, he shall instruct you in the Law." Upon this the Bodhisattva removed the tiara from his head and placed it upon the head of the Bodhisattva Maitreya (saying): „After me, o noble one, shalt thou attain the most high and perfect Wisdom." (38: 14, 17).

The middle of the relief is taken up by a (very much damaged) palace with a pĕndåpå next to it, in which both the chief persons are placed, the one, sitting on a plain seat wearing the ordinary headdress, the other standing before him bare-headed, with the tiara in his hands. It seems that the text has not been followed literally, the Bodhisattva does not put the tiara straight on to the head of Maitreya, and we can not be sure which of the two is the Bodhisattva and which Maitreya. One might think that the person seated on a throne here, as elsewhere, must be the Bodhisattva, but the gesture of the hands of this figure is not that of some one who has offered something, but much more like some one who holds out his hands to receive something; the figure standing is thus evidently the Bodhisattva who has just removed his tiara and is on the point of giving it to Maitreya. The headdress of the latter does not shew the stūpa that characterises Maitreya, and the tiara that is being handed over (what is left of that damaged object) has neither any sign of this emblem. Right and left are seated the Tuṣita-gods with flowers and trays full of ornements in their hands; quite on the right is one with a vase of lotuses; behind, two are standing,

[1]) Foucher, Lettre d'Ajaṇṭā, Journ. Asiat. 11 : 17 (1921) p. 223; compare Griffiths, Paintings in the Buddhist Cave temples of Ajaṇṭā, (1896) pl 25 and 26. This work was not to be found in any public library in Holland, so that I was unable to verify the quotations. For Pagān see Seidenstucker abb. 1 and p 26, 80 and 88.

while on the left, in the background, is a tree. The objects on the trays do not resemble any of the offerings that constantly appear on so many reliefs, but are more like personal ornements; observe what seem to be bracelets on the front tray. Possibly the sculptor was following a version of the story unknown to us in which other ornements than the tiara are given or received.

No representation of Maitreya's investiture is known to us in the old Buddhist art; it does occur in the comparatively modern Tibetan painting, part of a series of pictures of the life-story of the Buddha, published by Hackin [1]). Naturally this series differs widely in its manner of delineation from Barabuḍur and it would be useless to quote from it every time; nevertheless I draw attention to its existence as it may furnish data for the evolution of Buddhist art in its post-Indian period. On this point of course the results of the researches in Turkestan are of special importance; a number of pictures from the life of Çākya-muni are, as will be seen, found by Stein. [2])

7. *The Bodhisattva consults with the gods over what form he shall assume*

When the Bodhisattva had installed the Bodhisattva Maitreya in the Tuṣita palace, he spoke again to the great congregation of gods: "In what form, o worthy ones, shall I descend into the mother womb?" Then answered some of them:" O divine one, in human form". But others said: etc.

Among them was a Brahmakāyika gods son, by name Ugrateja, in a former birth a ṛṣi and one who did not turn away from (the struggle after) the most high and perfect Wisdom; he spake thus: "So as it is given in the mantra-, veda- and çāstra-books of the brahmans, in such form must the Bodhisattva descend into the

[1]) Les scènes figurées de la vie du Buddha d'après des peintures tibétaines, Mémoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, II (1916) pag 9—25 and pl I—IV and IX (so far as concerns the episodes to compare with the Lalitavistara) A number of incidents are brought together on one picture Plate I, for instance gives as chief scene the birth of the Bodhisattva, and above on the left the investiture of Maitreya, right, the Bodhisattva's descent as a white elephant towards Queen Māyā asleep (also right); left, below is the space used for the scenes following the birth, the bath and the seven steps On II the sojourn in the women's apartments, the contests that precede the marriage, the four encounters and the Great Departure, are all combined, and so on

[2]) Ruins of desert Cathay (1912) II pl. VI, Serindia II (1921) p. 655 foll. and pl. LXXIV—LXXVII

mother-womb. And what is that form? The mighty shape of a splendid elephant, with six tusks, as if enclosed in a golden net, brightly shining, with a head red and most beautiful with the sap that oozes from its forehead." (39 : 6, 13).

On this relief it is easy to see that no lecture or sermon, but a conference is going on as the attitudes of the figures plainly shew. The Bodhisattva sits with a incensestand in front of him in the middle of his pavilion, the gods are seated on both sides under the trees, some listening, others joining in the discussion. It seems impossible to distinguish Ugrateja among the company (as Pleyte does l.l. p. 16, misled by a fault in the drawing).

The text now brings us again to earth, and shews us several omens within the palace of Çuddhodana. Then follows :

8. *Māyā's conversation with Çuddhodana*

Queen Māyā after bathing herself and anointing her body, her arms decorated with various ornements and wearing splendid soft and fine garments, full of joy, contentment and happiness, with a company of ten thousand women, came into the presence of king Çuddhodana, who was seated pleasantly in his music room and advancing towards him, she seated herself at his right hand on the throne covered with jeweled gauze and spoke with smiling face, with unfrowning eyebrows and laughing mouth, the following verses to king Çuddhodana (41 : 8).

Her request, that is too elaborate for literal quotation, is that the king will permit her to perform a vow of selfdenial and virtue, to which he agrees.

The king and queen are seated in a pavilion in the middle of the relief ; there is no sign of this being his majesty's music room ; on the contrary, according to the trees on both sides, it should be in a garden. The ten thousand women are represented by three sitting and two standing, all on the lefthand of the pavilion, thus behind the queen, who in agreement with the text is sitting at the king's right hand. One of those sitting holds a dish with a lid, one of the standing ones, a dish with a wreath. Right of the pavilion, near the king sits a bearded man, his hair dressed-up brahman-fashion, but wearing more ornements than becomes an ordinary brahman ; he seems by his gestures to be

taking part in the conversation, and it is possible that, as Pleyte suggests (l.l. p. 17) it may be the court-chaplain, but it may be also, as on no. 13, the officer of the guard. Behind him, just as quite on the left behind the women, is the armed guard with sword and shield; quite to the right is another servant with a large bowl, in the shape of the cuspidors that are still used.

9. *Māyā in her chamber; visit of the gods daughters*

> The best of kings gave command to his followers: "Bring rich decorations to ornement the top of this most eminent palace, splendid with the flowers strewn about it, with delicious incense and perfumes, with umbrellas and banners and ripe tāla-trees. Let twenty thousand splendidly-armoured warriors with javelins, lances, arrows, spears and swords, surround the softly-echoing Dhṛtārājya to guard it vigilantly and keep the queen from fear. Let the queen, surrounded by her women, like a daughter of the gods, her body bathed and anointed and adorned with splendid garments, recline like a goddess on the pleasant couch, the feet of which are ornemented with all sorts of costly jewels, and that is strewn with many blossoms, while a thousand tūrya's discourse sweet music."
>
> Then in the Kāmadhātu-gods daughters who had seen the perfection of the body of the Bodhisattva, arose this thought: "What shall she be like, the young woman who is to bear this perfectly pure being?" And full of curiosity they vanished in a moment from their dwelling in the abode of the gods and in the most magnificent of great cities, named Kapila, adorned with a hundred thousand gardens, in the palace of king Çuddhodana in the great pavilion Dhṛtarāṣṭra, that resembles the abode of the immortals, these gods daughters wearing soft swaying robes, adorned with the immaculate lustre of beauty, their arms glittering with heavenly jewels, pointed with their fingers to queen Māyā reclining on her splendid couch and spoke to one another in verses (43: 15; 48: 17, 21).

Both passages here quoted are separated by several pages in the text where, among others, the episode of the next relief appears. It

is not expressly stated that the king's command is carried out and Māyā retires to the chambers made ready for her, but on the visit of the gods daughters, she is shewn already installed there.

She sits in her pavilion with two attendants; it is not actually a couch on which she is seated and the splendid decoration, as well as the music, is missing, unless we may consider the object held by the seated person quite on the right, to be a musical instrument [1]). The attendant women are there; one standing on the right with a fly-whisk, the others kneeling on both sides holding trays with toilet requisites as well as a water jug with a spout [2]). Right and left of the women are the soldiers mentioned in the text. Then above on clouds, two goddesses come flying to behold the future mother.

10. *The gods decide to accompany the Bodhisattva*

> In the meantime were gathered together the four Great Kings (gods of the cardinal points) and Çakra the king of the gods, and Suyāma the gods son etc. etc., these and many others, hundreds and thousands of gods, speaking together as follows: "It were not becoming of us, o worthy ones, and would betoken ingratitude should we allow the Bodhisattva to depart alone and unattended. Who among us, o worthy ones, is able faithfully and continually to attend the Bodhisattva?"
>
> On hearing these words there gathered together eighty-four thousand gods (from the heaven) of the four Great Kings.... And moreover, hundreds and thousands of gods from the East, the South, the West and the North gathered together. And the highest gods sons among them spake unto that great company of gods in these verses: "Hearken, o rulers of the immortals, to these our words and consider which is our irrevocable decision. Forsaking riches, love and pleasure and the great happiness of meditation, we shall bind ourselves faithfully to this pure being." (44 : 9, 13; 46 : 19; 47 : 2).

Nearly the whole of the relief is taken up by a large hall or pĕndåpå;

[1]) It will be the kind of cither ornemented with tassels or bells that is to be seen more distinctly on No 52.

[2]) In some ways this resembles the scenes of Māyā's dream at Pagān, see Seidenstücker l.l. abb 2—6 and pag. 27 and 88.

only on the right is a building in the usual temple-form with a fine monster-head above the entrance, rampant lions at the corners and a roof in tiers; this is undoubtedly a palace of the gods. In the hall, the gods are sitting in two opposite groups, in consultation; the absence of a central figure plainly shews that the Bodhisattva is not present and that it is a party exclusively of gods. They are all in the dress of gods, without any special divine attribute, so that it is quite impossible to distinguish the different sorts mentioned in the text.

11. *The other Bodhisattva's render homage to the Bodhisattva*

> Then at the time of the Bodhisattva's descent, many hundred thousands of Bodhisattva's from the East, all bound to only one birth and dwelling in the beautiful Tuṣita abode, gathered themselves together at the place where the Bodhisattva was, to render him homage. Also from the countries of the ten winds came many hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattva's all bound to only one birth and dwelling in the beautiful Tuṣita abode, to the place where the Bodhisattva was to render him homage. And from the assembly of the gods of the four Great Kings etc. etc. came eighty four hundred thousand apsaras with the sound of music from many tūrya's to the place where the Bodhisattva was to render him homage. (50 : 15 ; 51 : 1).

In this relief only the homage of the Bodhisattva's is shewn, and nothing of the apsaras. The Bodhisattva sits here not in a separate pavilion but his throne is set up in a large hall that fills up the whole of the relief and where the Bodhisattva's are also seated. Next to him is a burning incense stand. The figures seated on the right and left are all in ordinary god's dress, so that without the text it would have been impossible to make out that these are Bodhisattva's and not gods.

12. *Descent of the Bodhisattva*

> After the Bodhisattva had placed himself on the lion-throne Çrīgarbha, that originates from all his merits, in the sight of all the gods and nāga's in his vast pavilion, he set out on his journey with these Bodhisattva's, surrounded by a hundred thousand millions koṭi's of gods, nāga's and yakṣa's, from the beautiful Tuṣita abode.

> Without being touched, hundreds of thousands of millions koṭi's of divine and human music-instruments offered sweet sounds. A hundred thousand ten thousands of koṭi's of gods bore the great pavilion on their hands, their shoulders and heads. And the hundred thousands of apsaras, everyone making her own music, placed themselves in front, behind, left and right of the Bodhisattva, praising him with the melody of their harmonious songs. (51 : 4; 52 : 16).

In the middle of the relief in dhyāna-mudrā in a double pavilion (the one he is sitting in being surrounded by a second one) sits the Bodhisattva and is carried down to the earth. This is shewn by the clouds that are seen beneath the building which hovers in the air, as well as by the figures of gods holding it on either side ; this they do only with their hands, not head and shoulders. On both sides of the pavilion also on clouds that appear here and there, are the escorting gods with umbrellas, banners, fans, incense-burners and flowers in the hand. The nāga's and yakṣa's the text speaks of are not there ; but on the left we can see the apsaras are present. Whether these are singing we cannot tell, but there are no music instruments. The sculptor has succeeded by the hovering attitude of the gods and the flutter of the banners and fans in giving an impression of the swift motion through the air.

Javanese art is considered to have been greatly influenced by that of Amarāvatī, but we can here see that as regards the descent of the Bodhisattva, an essential difference exists between the two schools. It will be seen that at Amarāvatī [1]) the Bodhisattva has already assumed the form of a white elephant on leaving heaven, while at Barabuḍur according to the Lalitavistara text he still retains his divine shape. I shall refer later to this fact. At Amarāvatī too the Bodhisattva is carried in a pavilion; it is borne by yakṣa's and surrounded by the gods in attitudes of flying, dancing, and making music.

13. *The conception*

> When the winter was over, in the month of Vaiçākha, the Bodhisattva descended from the beautiful Tuṣita abode, entered the womb of his mother, on the right side, in the shape of a white

[1]) T S W. pl. 74, also Burgess fig. 7 on p. 35 and A.G.B. I fig 147 pag. 289; other illustration Burgess pl. 11.

elephant with six tusks, his head cochenille colored, teeth streaked with gold, complete with all limbs and parts of limbs and faultless in every organ. On entering there he leaned against the right side and in no way to the left. Queen Māyā sleeping gently on her couch, dreamed this dream: "Like snow and silver, with six tusks, beautiful legs, a fine trunk and a red head, a magnificent elephant has entered my womb, graceful of motion and with limbs strong as diamonds."

And in the same night that the Bodhisattva entered his mothers womb, in that same night a lotus rose up from beneath the mass of water and splitting the great earth over sixty eight hundred thousand yojana's ascended to the heaven of Brahmā.

And no man saw this lotus but the Leader, the best of men, and the Great Brahmā, ruler of ten times hundred thousands. Every germ of the three thousand great thousands of worlds, all their power, their essence or quintessence, was contained like a drop of honey in that great lotus. When the great Brahmā had put that drop into a fair bowl of lapislazuli he offered it to the Bodhisattva who took it and drank it up in deference to the great Brahmā (54 : 18 ; 55 : 2 ; 64 : 11).

These two passages are a good distance apart in the text ; their being placed together on one relief is explained by their chronological sequence; as the text specially mentions that the lotus rose up in the night of the conception, while the intervening events (relief 15—21) took place after that night, it was logical to put the lotus-episode where it chronologically belongs.

The queen is still in the upper chamber as before in relief No. 9, the details of which are now for the first time clearly discernible : on the ground floor we see the closed door, the guard sitting before the palace and above, the chamber of Māyā lying on her couch and surrounded by her waiting women, one of whom holds a fan. At the head of the bed is a lamp, and a water jug with a lotus. The queen is lying on her right side, which differs from the account given in the text, in so far as the Bodhisattva is to enter the womb on that side, and the position of the royal lady makes this no easy task, as Foucher remarks [1]). On

[1]) l.l. pag. 293.

the right of the chamber is a balcony on which two more attendants are standing, still more to the right, under the trees and outside the building, some soldiers of the guard are sitting and standing, the same as was to be seen on relief no. 9. Like the guard on No. 8 here is also a bearded man who in this case is armed with sword and shield and therefore belongs to the soldiers. From the upper corner, left, the Bodhisattva is descending towards his future mother, in the shape of an elephant, surrounded by flowers and shaded by an umbrella, with feet on lotus cushions. Beneath sit three persons in devotion before a tree stem rising high in front of them, and terminating in a lotus, which must be the giant lotus of the text. On top of it is a bowl, certainly the lapislazuli bowl in which Brahmā puts the drop of honey from the lotus flower to offer the Bodhisattva. That three persons are paying homage to the lotus, does not agree with the statement that only Brahmā and the Bodhisattva saw the wonder-plant ; neither is there the least indication that one of these figures is Brahmā. The first one holds an ordinary lotus, the last one is making a sĕmbah and it is not improbable that they do not specially belong to the great lotus but are intended for divine witnesses of the conception. In that case Brahmā does not appear at all and the sculptor has considered the wonderplant with the bowl on top, enough to represent the second passage.

The head of the elephant is rather worn-away ; if the drawing by Wilsen is reliable, then the animal was carved with only two instead of the requisite six tusks; this might be expected, as nowhere in Indian art are the six tusks to be found. No more the wrong position of Māyā is due to carelessness of the Barabuḍur artist, for it is found just as well in other Indian representations, the same with the proportion of the elephant towards the mother that is much too large : in both cases, the Gandhāra art as well as that of Amarāvatī sometimes give a more natural picture. The peculiarity that the Bodhisattva who appears on the previous relief in divine shape, is here shewn as an elephant and has therefore changed his appearance on the way, is, according to Foucher's convincing explanation (A.G.B. I pag. 291—296) the result of the fact of what was first a dream being later accepted as reality; in this way the texts became confused, which naturally affected the monuments as well. The later Chinese art solved the difficulty by trying to unite both representations, putting the Bodhisattva in divine shape upon a white elephant. [1])

[1]) So already in Tun-Huang; see Stein, Serindia II (1921) p. 855 and pl. LXXIV.

The oldest representation of the conception known to us, is that of Bharhut [1]), with the inscription: bhagavato okkaṃti. Very simple and at the same time very unnatural: a plain bench, upon which the queen lies on her right side with three sitting attendants near her, while a lamp shews that it is night. Above her hovers an elephant nearly the same size as his future mother. It is not much better at Sānchi [2]), where her majesty too lies on her right side with a palace in the background and the head and front legs of a gigantic elephant appear in the air. There is an Amarāvatī relief [3]) with the same position of the queen and size of the elephant, where she is guarded by four womenslaves and the four Guardians of the world. On another relief of the same stūpa, the queen is seen in the right position and the elephant in the right size; the Guardians of the world and attendant women are also here present [4]). In the art of Gandhāra [5]) the position is right, but the elephant rather too large, though the proportion is nowhere as bad as in the older Indian school; generally the queen reclines quite alone on her couch in a chamber supported by pillars where in the wings a couple of yavanikā's keep watch. A relief discovered at Sarnāth [6]) on the contrary, returns entirely to the older representation; the queen reclining on her right and the elephant very large; in its design too this scene is inconsistent, being a combined picture of the conception and the birth, while the persons of the two scenes are not kept separate. At Ajaṇṭā the conception is twice represented [7]), and it is also found at Pagān [8]).

14. *The gods do homage to the Bodhisattva* (?)

In the mother, when the entering of the womb has taken place, there appears directly on the right side a ratnavyūha-pavilion. And further, in that pavilion remains the Bodhisattva, descended from the Tuṣita, sitting with legs crossed. For the body of a Bo-

[1]) Cunningham, The stûpa of Bharhut (1879) pl 28; also reproduced elsewhere, for instance pl 42 of The Cambridge History of India I

[2]) T.S.W. pl 33; also Foucher, La porte orientale du stûpa de Sânchi (1910), pl 6

[3]) Burgess pl 28

[4]) T S W pl 74, Burgess fig 18 on p 65, A G B I fig. 148 p 294; see also T S.W. pl 91, Burgess pl 32

[5]) A G B I fig 149 p 295, fig 160 p 313

[6]) Pl. 4 in the article Archaeological Exploration in India 1906—7, Journ Roy As. Soc. 1907

[7]) Foucher, Lettre p 223; coll Griffiths Paintings pl 25 and 48

[8]) Seidenstucker, abb. 7 and p. 27 and 89

dhisattva in his latest existence has not the nature of the fleshly substance of a foetus but he appears seated complete with all his limbs and parts of limbs and with all the (requisite) tokens.

When midday was past and the afternoon was come, then appeared Brahmā Sahāpati attended by some hundred thousands of Brahmakāyika gods sons with the divine drop of essence and approached the place where the Bodhisattva was, to behold him, to adore him and serve him and hear the Law. When the Bodhisattva had seen that they were seated, he instructed them with a discourse on the Law, made it clear to them, encouraged them and filled them with joy (65 : 19 ; 69 : 15 ; 70 : 3).

As after the conception, in the text follow the scenes given on the reliefs 15—21, without intermission, it becomes difficult to explain No. 14 ; it may only be looked for in the part of the text that follows on the scene depicted on No. 21, yet it remains doubtful whether in guessing what it represents we may have hit on the right incident.

On the relief, in the middle is seen in a pavilion, a god or Bodhisattva seated on a lotus cushion with the right hand in a sort of vitarka-mudrā of third finger and thumb. Right and left a similar figure standing, on the right with a lotus and left with a bowl. Next on each side a number of seated gods, the right with richly-adorned headdress, the left hand ones with a somewhat different hairdressing made up with plaits. On both sides two heavenly ones are hovering in the air; those on the right flying towards the pavilion, the left ones, away from it.

Pleyte (l.l. pag. 27) calls this relief: „Çakra und die Beherrscher der Windgegenden" and describes the text relating to it as follows: „In derselben Nacht begaben sich die vier Beherrscher der Windgegenden, acht und zwanzig Yakshaanführer und der Haüptling der Guhyaka's, die Yaksharace welcher Vajrapāṇi entstammte, zu Çakra und nachdem sie Rath gepflogen hatten, beschlossen sie alle zusammen die Māyā-Devī zu überwachen." Thus he considers the person in the middle to be Çakra, the flying figures as the Guardians of the winds, while misled by the drawing, he conjectures there is a vajra on the lotus of the standing god, which would indicate him to be Vajrapāṇi. But if we consult the text itself, it then appears that the translation used by Pleyte was not a very good one, for to begin with it is not there stated to have taken place on the night of the conception, nor do we find that

the persons came to Çakra and there consulted, but only (66 : 4), that Çakra, the Guardians of the world and the yakṣa-leaders mentioned, were continually on guard over the Bodhisattva concealed in the mother's womb [1]). There is thus no consultation, nor is any mention made of any special part played by Çakra on this occasion, and finally there is no explanation for the advancing and returning flight of the Guardians.

Following in the footsteps of Barth [2]), I am led to seek the solution elsewhere, guided specially by the unusual shape of the pavilion which is really a sort of pavilion within another pavilion and this is just the building described in the text, the ratnavyūha-pavilion [3]), with this difference that there ought really to be a third pavilion enclosing it.

The central figure seated on the lotuscushion, can be no other than the Bodhisattva, as in the text, with legs crossed and expounding the Law to the gods visiting him. There are several groups of gods who come consecutively to do him reverence ; the reason for my quoting the above passage about Brahmā's visit is the possibility that the bowl held by the figure on the left may be intended as the same sort of bowl in the former relief, in which Brahmā offers the essence and which according to the text he now has with him. Which visit of the gods is indicated, does not either matter very much ; the flying figures are perhaps meant to shew the coming of one and the going away of another group of divine worshippers. The great difficulty, the great objection to my interpretation is of course that the Bodhisattva with the ratnavyūha and all, is supposed to be within the mother's womb. We must allow that it was utterly impossible for the sculptor to depict this, and being given the episode of the ratnavyūha for his subject, he was compelled to do it in some such sort of way as on No. 14.

15. *Māyā retires to the açoka-wood*

Then queen Māyā rose up from her splendid couch, wearing ornements and soft garments, cheerful in mind and body, filled with joy, vitality and contentment, and surrounded and followed by her com-

[1]) The Southern tradition also gives the guarding of Māyā by four of the gods, but after the telling of the dream; represented at Pagān, Seidenstucker abb. 9 and p 28 and 89

[2]) Bulletin des religions de l'Inde 4—5 (1902) p 73

[3]) The same sort of pavilion served, as we saw, for the descent.

pany of women she descended from the top of the magnificent palace and betook herself to the açoka-wood. As soon as she had entered it, as she wished, she dispatched a messenger to king Çuddhodana : "May it please your majesty to come, the queen desires to see you." (55 : 11).

On the right is seen the palace just vacated by the queen, crowned with the triçūla motif ; on both sides are sitting guards with a tree in the background. On the left, stands the queen just arrived at the first tree of the açoka-wood, her women following. One kneels with an umbrella, a second holds up a mirror, two others carry the fly-whisks. Beneath the tree three figures are kneeling ; both those behind are servants, the front one is much damaged but to see by the headdress it was a man. He puts his hands respectfully on the ground in front of him and the queen is evidently turning towards him; so he must be the messenger who is to take the message to the king.

16. *The king comes to the queen*

When king Çuddhodana had heard these words he betook himself cheerful of mind, after stretching his body and rising from his magnificent throne, surrounded by councillors, citizens, attendants, and relations to where the açoka-wood was situated; but when he was come there he became incapable of entering the açoka-wood. He seemed to have become too heavy. Pausing at the entrance he spoke after a moment's reflection, at this time, the following verse: "Never can I recollect, even when leading my soldiers, that ever I felt my body so heavy as now. I am not able to enter the abode of my own family; what will overtake me here and to whom can I turn for advice ?" (55 : 16).

Out of the air some of the gods sons inform him that the cause thereof is the presence of the Bodhisattva in Māyā's womb.

If the connection between text and reliefs was not so clear, no-one could have any idea that this and the next scene are placed in the açoka-wood, for there is not a tree to be seen. It looks much more likely that the queen is in a palace, the right hand of the relief is occupied by a building crowned with triçūla motifs, in which the queen sits on a lofty throne ; an attendant with a fan behind her, other women kneeling round. In the right lower corner a guard is seated, and there are two

others on the left of the building in the adjoining courtyard that is closed by a gateway, more to the left. In front of the gateway we see a sitting and a standing person, belonging to the king's suite that takes up the left half of the relief ; their rich garments make it probable they are the royal councillors or relations. It even looks as if they might be gods, who, though not from the air, are speaking to the king, but the respectful sĕmbah of the front one is not becoming for a god. The king stands in a reflective attitude and is evidently depicted, musing over the strange occurrence. His suite sits on the left behind him and in the backgrond is his elephant, hung with bells, its driver on its back with the angkuça in his hand.

17. *The queen relates her dream and asks for its interpretation*

> With hands clasped in a sĕmbah and bent head, the king entered and looking at Māyā who shewed no sign of pride or presumption (said unto her): "Say, what am I so do for thee, what matter is this? Speak!" And the queen answered him: "Like unto snow and silver, exceeding the glory of sun and moon, with stately pace and well-built, with six tusks and noble, his limbs as firm as diamonds and full of beauty, a splendid elephant has entered my womb. Discover the meaning thereof.... It will be well, o prince, to send swiftly for the brahmans who can expound the veda's and interpret dreams and who know the rules of astronomy; let them come and reveal the truth of my dream, if it may bring me happiness or if it might foretell evil to our race." (56 : 9 ; 57 : 1).

In the middle of the relief sit the king and queen (the latter kneeling) in a pĕndåpå, each on a throne and turning towards one another ; the queen makes a sĕmbah and is certainly asking that the interpreters of dreams may be sent for. On both sides of the pĕndåpå are the attendants in a sitting and a standing row ; on the right, among others, the queen's women with garlands, left, the men attendants of the king, bearing garments and jewels. In the last group notice those in the foreground who wear no headdress ; the seated one has his hair done up brahman-fashion in a twist, of the standing one facing us no hair is to be seen ; also the figure next to him wears an unusual headdress in the shape of a diadem at the back of his head. All three have a moustache and do not look like ordinary attendants ; probably they are

brahmans. For the rest, the attendants on both sides carry the usual objects.

Perhaps this scene is also depicted at Amarāvatī[1]) ; but it is possible that there a later conversation is intended, one that takes place before the journey to Lumbinī and is not represented at Barabuḍur. It is a court scene ; the king sitting in the centre on a large throne, the queen adorned by a nimbus on a separate seat at his right hand. Courtiers are sitting on seats, male and female attendants stand round them. The fact that at Barabuḍur the story of the dream is given but not the conversation before the journey to Lumbinī, proves that the first conversation was considered the most important, and makes it probable, that at Amarāvatī the same conversation may be intended as on relief no. 17 at Barabuḍur. At Ajaṇṭā this scene is given twice[2]) and at Pagān it is also found.[3]).

18. *The interpretation of the dream*

When the king heard these words, he commanded the brahmans to be sent for, learned in the veda's and skilled in the interpretation of çāstra's. And Māyā standing before them, spoke to the brahmans and said: "I have seen a dream, expound the meaning thereof to me." And the brahmans spoke: „Relate, o queen, what dream thou hast seen; after hearing it, we may understand it." Then the queen answered: "Like unto snow and silver, exceeding the glory of sun and moon, with stately pace and well-built, with six tusks and noble, his limbs as firm as diamond and full of beauty, a splendid elephant has entered my womb. Reveal to me the meaning of this."

On hearing these words, the brahmans spake as follows: "Behold, a great joy shall befall thee, it brings no misfortune to your race. A son shall be born unto thee, his body adorned with tokens, worthy descendant of the royal race, a noble ruler of the world. When he forsakes love, royal power and palace and without giving any more thought to them wanders forth in pity for the whole world, he will become a Buddha to be honored by the three worlds and

[1]) T.S W. pl. 65.
[2]) Foucher, Lettre p 223; Griffiths, Paintings pl. 25 and 47.
[3]) Seidenstucker, abb 8 and p 27 and 89.

he will make glad the universe with the marvellous nectar of immortality". (57 : 5).

Left on the scene are the brahmans explaining the dream; one sits on a chair under a tree, a second kneels a bit more to the right, resting his hands in front of him on the ground. In the lefthand corner some attendants, sitting and standing. The pĕndåpå is separated from the seated brahman by an incense-burner; within, both king and queen are seated; below the dais on which the thrones are placed, some four other attendants sit on the ground, their faces turned towards the kneeling brahman. On the right of the pĕndåpå a female servant kneels with a folded tray on a bench, beneath which is a box, and behind that more of the royal suite are sitting; there are two ordinary servants with umbrella and sinté-leaf, the rest is the armed guard. In the background on the left is a tree and on the right we see the upper part of a palace.

The interpretation of the dream is also to be found on a couple of reliefs at Gandhāra, where king and queen as here are on the right sitting next each other and opposite on the left a brahman. [1]) Another version shews the king between an old and a young ascetic and gives the explanation of the dream to the ṛṣi Asita who rightly ought not to appear until after the birth of the Bodhisattva [2]). At Barabuḍur there was no cause for such confusion; according to the text, we now have the interpreters of the dream before us and presently on No. 31 Asita will appear on the scene.

19. *The reward of the brahmans*

When king Çuddhodana heard this from the brahmans, soothsayers, interpreters of tokens, skilled in the explanation of dreams, he rejoiced and was satisfied, glad, gay, cheerful, happy and joyful and refreshed those brahmans with a banquet of deliciously-prepared viands, presented them with garments in which he made them attire themselves and dismissed them. (58 : 3).

The design of this relief is very similar to the last one; the palace on the right, the pĕndåpå of the king in the middle, the brahmans on the left. Here too the king sits with his throne on a dais and below that

[1]) A.G B I fig. 150 p. 297 and fig 160 p. 313.

[2]) A.G B. I fig. 151, and text on p 299 etc. This scene is also found at Ajaṇṭā; Foucher, Lettre p. 223, Paintings pl 27.

are two more servants, one of them now armed ; behind these a little dog appears. Rather lower than the king sit two other persons also inside the pĕndåpå ; a bearded man, his hair done up in a loop, looking like a brahman but holding the folded tray generally carried by servants in attendance, and a very much damaged person in full dress, according to Pleyte (l.l. p. 33) on the authority of van Kinsbergen's photograph, a woman, of course the queen, though it is difficult to explain why she, now the future mother of the Bodhisattva, is placed lower than her spouse. In the right of the pĕndåpå two more servants and two guards. On the left of the relief in front sits a brahman under a palmtree on a high seat ; he holds out his hands to receive a packet, a kind of purse, which also might contain food, that is being handed to him by a standing servant. A second and third brahman are quite on the left, one standing with an umbrella and one sitting who has already received his bag and a folded garment. The rest of the space between those already described and the pĕndåpå is occupied by a fourth brahman standing, and by servants, one carrying a bowl with gifts towards the three brahmans, two others turning towards the king for orders.

20. *The gods offer their palaces to Çuddhodana*

> Then the question occurred to king Çuddhodana : "In which building should queen Māyā dwell, pleasantly and undisturbed?" At the same moment the four Great Kings approached king Çuddhodana and spoke thus : „Have no care, o king, be not disturbed nor distress thy mind about this ; for we shall prepare a house for the Bodhisattva." Then came Çakra, the king of the gods, to king Çuddhodana and spake thus : "Small is the pavilion of the Guardians of the world ; the best is the palace of the three and thirty gods ; I shall give the Bodhisattva a dwelling like that of Vaijayanta." (58 : 12).

Four other gods make the same offer.

A great hall or pĕndåpå. On the right the king on his throne, his attendants are sitting and standing on the same side next to the hall. The gods are on the left, making their offers, seven of them. There is no noticeable difference in their dress, so that it is impossible to make out which may be Çakra. The sculptor has not attempted to give any thing more than "the gods" in general.

21. *Māyā shews herself in the various palaces*

Thus in the splendid great city named Kapila, all the Kāmāvacara-rulers of the gods each built a palace in honor of the Bodhisattva. And king Çuddhodana prepared a dwelling that exceeded all human buildings in splendor and resembled nothing less than the heavenly ones. Upon which the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, by the power of the mahāvyūha-meditation caused Māyā to appear in all the buildings. While the Bodhisattva remained in the womb of queen Māyā he continued to be on the right side, sitting with legs crossed. And all the rulers of the gods thought to themselves: "It is in my palace that the mother of the Bodhisattva is living and nowhere else." (59 : 16).

Three palaces are erected on the relief next to one another, all richly decorated as might be expected from divine architects, with many triçūla- and jewel-motifs. In each of the three buildings the queen sits on a throne with cushions on it ; she here wears a halo for the first time. In the two outer palaces, attendants with fly-whisks stand at her side; and on the extreme right and left other female figures are kneeling under a tree, also servants but very much injured and worn-away, though we can see the first on the right carries an incense-burner and a fan, and some others are holding flowers. Their dress is too plain for them to be godesses who, according to a later passage in the text (66 : 7) served the Bodhisattva, four of them; but these would more likely be the four standing figures.

22. *The queen heals the sick*

And all those in the splendid great city named Kapila, or in other countries, who were possessed by a god, nāga, yakṣa, gandharva, asura, garuḍa, or bhūta, women, men, boys or girls, when they saw the mother of the Bodhisattva, recovered their senses immediately and got back their memory, those who had lost their human shape, recovered it on the spot. And those beings suffering from various diseases, on them the mother of the Bodhisattva laid her right hand upon their heads and immediately on being touched the sickness disappeared and they returned to their homes. At last queen Māyā took a handful of grass from the

ground and gave it to the exhausted creatures and as soon as they took hold of it there was no trace of their disease left. (71 : 17 ; 72 : 4).

Beginning on the right, we see on this relief first, three of the guard, sitting under a tree, and then a small building with the roof of a temple, that we might consider to be a little chapel, but on other reliefs this kind of building is used for a gateway. A little further the queen is sitting on a throne with three attendants behind her ; apparently in front of the gateway to the palace grounds and in the open air ; observe the clouds above her and the trees further to the left. She raises her hand towards the person sitting in front of her, who is holding his right upper-arm with the left hand, maybe one of the sick who is to be cured by the laying on of hands ; this is not certain for his dress is the same as the other attendants of the queen and not the ordinary costume of the desa-folk invalids depicted. The group which occupies the left side is not quite in keeping with the text as it seems more to represent a distribution of food and medecine by the attendants than any laying on of hands by the queen. One sits with a pot in front of him and a spoon in his hand ; and another stands with a dish serving out something with a spoon. Among the sick, one is half lying on the ground and holds his hand to his head, two others sit and stand with hands upraised, then another is crouching, feeling a sore place on his shoulder and two more are leaning on a crutch. Thus it is quite plain that these are sick and helpless ones, not just only poor who receive alms from the queen.

23. *Distribution of alms*

All the Çākya's and other beings in the splendid great city called Kapila ate and drunk, amused themselves, lived pleasantly, gave gifts and performed meritorious work. (72 : 17)

The sculptor or rather the one who ordered the design, has clearly suggested the more edifying part of the Çākya's life, the giving of alms, for the picture, as nothing else is represented on this relief. On the right a building, a dwelling house of two storeys with closed in niches below, windows with trellis-work above, an oblique sloping roof with top-ornaments and above the entrance a balcony with projecting roof. On the rest of the relief against a background of trees, we see a picturesque group : the Çākya's[1]) recognisable by their rich garments, who are distributing valuables and food from trays held by their servants, to a crowd of poor

[1]) The one standing on the right might be the king, judging by his attitude.

of all ages and sexes depicted in all sorts of attitudes. The sculptor has succeeded in giving a natural and animated scene, by here not dividing the givers and receivers on each side as on so many of the reliefs, but shewing them in a mingled group.

24. *The king as brahmacārin* (?)

> And king Çuddhodana living the life of a brahmacārin without attending to the affairs of state, perfectly pure as those who retire to the forest of repentance, was concerned only with the exercise of the Law. (72 : 20).

Only the sequence of the text makes it probable that the above passage may really be depicted upon this relief; but it is not clear and the identification remains very doubtful. On a throne, right, under a canopy, a plainly-dressed person is sitting, unfortunately rather damaged, this might be the king who has retired from the world; he makes a gesture of refusal to the group before him, separated by an incense-burner. This group consists of a number of women, also plainly-dressed and surely no ladies of the harem, unless they have followed their masters example; they are kneeling on a platform with a few trees behind it. Quite in front, below the nearest woman, a person (sex doubtful) has thrown himself at the feet of the king.

On the platform follow some sitting and kneeling men, some of them bearded, none of them well-to-do, some with smooth brushed-back-hair and some with hair tied up. These too are turning towards the king. Quite on the left stand three better-dressed men, the first with a dish full of wreaths, the next with a fly-whisk; perhaps royal servants, perhaps some of the festive Çākya's mentioned in the text of the previous relief. As the text gives no decisive statement about what these people are up to and there is evidently something on hand not included in the above quotation from the text, this must remain an unsolved mystery.

25. *The miracles at Kapilavastu*

> Now when ten months had passed in this way and the time for the Bodhisattva's birth was come, there appeared in the palace and the park of king Çuddhodana two and thirty omens.... From the slopes of the Himālaya came young lions continually and after pacing round the excellent city named Kapila with rejoiced

greetings, keeping the city on their right, they lay down on the thresholds of the gates without doing harm to any one. Five hundred young white elephants came and saluted king Çuddhodana's feet with the end of their trunks. Children of the gods with girdles round their waist appeared in king Çuddhodana's private appartments and seated themselves on the lap of first one and then another. (76:8, 16).

Only the three omens shewn on the relief are quoted out of the thirty two; the lions, the elephants and the divine infants. The scene with the lions is on the right; two lions sit before the usual style of gateway, next to them are the guards and three other persons standing, perhaps also guards, expressing their wonder. On the left a pĕndåpå, in the right end of which the king is sitting; the space between him and the gateway is taken up by elephants about the size of dogs, one of which, as the text says, touches the king's foot with his trunk.

The king has a divine infant on his knee, a second stands near and a third on the king's other side; they all have a band crossed over the middle of the breast, fastened with a large clasp, and are indicated further by a crescent behind the head. To the left of the pĕndåpå are three female attendants, inside the pĕndåpå three more female figures are kneeling whom, to judge by the grander costume of the front one, we may consider to be the queen with two of her women. According to Pleyte (l.l. p. 41) they are the gods daughters who are mentioned in the description of other tokens; if this were correct, then the sculptor must have deviated from the text which tells us that these apparitions remained part of them in the air and part of them carried specially-named emblems that do not appear on the relief.

26. *The preparation for the journey to Lumbinī*

Now when queen Māyā by the power of the Bodhisattva's radiance knew that the time of his birth was near, she betook herself in the early vigil of the night to king Çuddhodana and spoke unto him these verses:

"It behoves me, o king, to retire to the pleasure garden. It is the best of seasons, the spring, when women adorn themselves. Mid the hum of the bees, the song of the kokila and peacock is heard; clear, glittering and radiant is spread the glory of the blossoms. Come, give command, let us set off without delay!"

When the king had heard these words of the queen, he spake, pleased and light of heart to his retinue: "Make ready a troup of horses, elephants, carriages and attendants; decorate Lumbinī, the place of most perfect quality" (78 : 1, 11).

On the relief we do not find just what the text quoted leads us to expect; it is not the conversation of the king and queen that is given[1]), but what follows thereon. The scene is divided by a gateway into two unequal parts, on the right, the smaller, sits the queen, clearly indicated by a halo, on a throne in a niche; kneeling before her, a small tree in the back ground, are two attendants, the front one holding a bowl, perhaps containing ornements. The queen is probably preparing herself for the journey, even if the text does not literally say so, and the passage in Pleyte (p. 42): "Inzwischen war Māyā-Devī nach ihrem Zimmer zurückgekehrt und hatte sich von ihren Dienerinnen die schönsten Gewänder anlegen lassen" is not to be found in the original Sanscrit. On the left of the gateway a quite mutilated figure is sitting in a pĕndåpâ whom Pleyte rightly recognises as the king; a servant kneels behind him with the usual folded vessel in his hand; opposite to them sitting and standing, a large number of attendants. In this scene as well, Pleyte thinks of adornment and entitles the whole relief as "Der König und die Königin schmücken sich." He has been misled dy Wilsen's drawing on which someone is holding ready a headdress; where, in reality, as clearly shewn on the photograph, a very much damaged attendant is wearing it on his own head. As for the rest, there is only one attendant who has ornements on a tray; the nearest one standing, carries a bouquet, another a box; the lowest row are quite without any articles in their hands. Adorning himself, or making any toilet, we see no traces of in this scene, and there is no reason for the king to trouble about his dress as he is not going with the party to Lumbinī. I am much more inclined to think we here have only the king giving orders to his attendants, in preparation for the queen's journey.

27. *Māyā betakes herself to the Lumbinī-park*

"Let queen Māyā alone be seated in the splendid carriage and no other man or woman ride in it. And let women in various garments draw that carriage."

[1]) As at Pagān, Seidenstücker, abb 10 and p 29 and 89 etc.

Then did queen Māyā pass, accompanied by 84,000 horse-carriages decorated with all sorts of ornements and by 84.000 elephant-carriages decorated with all kind of ornements, escorted by 84,000 warriors, brave, warlike, well-favored, hansome, clad in mail and armour, followed by 60,000 Çākya-women, guarded by 40.000 Çākya's of the family of king Çuddhodana, old, young and middle-aged, accompanied by 60.000 persons of king Çuddhodana's private appartments, who made harmonious music consisting of singing and the sound of all sorts of instruments, surrounded by 84,000 gods daughters, 84,000 nāga-daughters, 84,000 gandharva-daughters, 84,000 kinnara-daughters, and 84,000 asura-daughters, adorned with differently composed ornements who sang all kinds of songs of praise." (80 : 9 ; 81 : 21).

Not much is seen on the relief of the enormous procession that escorted the queen to Lumbinī according to the text. She sits in a comfortable arm chair with cushions on a four-wheeled carriage, and she sits there quite alone.[1]) This agrees with the text in the first words of the king quoted above ; the rest of his orders was not carried out by the sculptor, for it is not women who draw the carriage but two horses hung with bells, upon one of which is the charioteer. In front walks a troop of partially-armed men who to judge by the fine clothes, will be Çākya's; behind and next to the carriage are servants with umbrellas and leaf-fan and these too are armed with swords, some of them. Finally come the queen's women. The other carriages with horses and elephants are not there and the music as well as the attendant daughters of the demi gods are left out. At Ajaṇṭā, the queen sits in a palanquin and begins taking her bath[2]), at Pagān too the vehicle is a palanquin borne by men.

28. *The birth of the Bodhisattva*

Now when queen Māyā had entered the Lumbinī-park, and had descended from that splendid carriage, surrounded by human and divine women, she moved from one tree to the other, from

[1]) That is unless the attendant whose half figure appears between the horses and the side of the carriage, is considered to be sitting in the carriage

[2]) Foucher, Lettre p 225; Paintings pl. 28

[3]) Seidenstücker, abb 11 and p. 29 and 90.

one thicket into another, looking at one tree after the other, and came gradually to the place where that great plakṣa, jewel of all great trees, grew. Thereupon the plakṣa-tree, moved by the power of the Bodhisattva's glory, bowed down and saluted her. Queen Māyā stretched out her right arm like a flash of lightning in the air, laid hold of a branch of the plakṣa and stood there without any effort gazing up to heaven with her mouth slightly open. At that moment appeared 60.000.000 apsaras of the Kāmāvacara gods and formed a train to serve queen Māyā. Attended by such miracles the Bodhisattva formerly had entered the mother's womb; now he appeared, at the end of ten full months, out of his mother's right side, in possession of memory and knowledge, unsullied by the impurity of the mother's womb. At the same moment came Çakra, the king of the gods, and Brahmā Sahāpati and stood before him. With the greatest respect they received the Bodhisattva in a divine kāçika-garment, recognising him in all his limbs and parts of his body, and knowing him. Immediately at his birth the Bodhisattva descended to the ground. As soon as the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, touched it a great lotus appeared splitting open the great earth. Nanda and Upananda, the nāga-kings, shewing the upper part of themselves in the air, caused two streams of water to appear both hot and cold and bathed the Bodhisattva. It was Çakra, Brahmā and the Guardians of the world, with many more hundred thousands of the gods sons, who bathed the Bodhisattva directly after birth, sprinkled him with all sorts of perfumed water and strewed him with blossoms; fly-whisks appeared in the air and an umbrella adorned with jewels. He placed himself on the lotus and looked towards the four winds.

Without any man's help the Bodhisattva took seven steps to the East (and said): "Behold I shall be the first of all dharma's who are the roots of Salvation". And as he walked the divine white large umbrella and the two magnificent fans moved above him in the air unsupported. At every spot where the Bodhisattva set his foot sprung up lotuses. And he took seven steps to the South etc. (82 : 14 ; 83 : 3, 12, 19 ; 84 : 15).

It is certainly remarkable that while everywhere else the sculptors of the Barabuḍur do not hesitate when the text allows, to spend a new relief on scenes that are very similar, they have here chosen to combine the three important events, the birth, the bathing and the seven steps, into one panel. In the middle of the relief the plakṣa-tree is designed, shaded by an umbrella and decorated with hanging strings of jewels. On the right is the queen with attendants; the birth was just taken place as is shewn by her standing in the prescribed attitude; the right arm raised and holding a branch of the tree. One attendant supports her left arm, a second kneels before her with a water-jug, a third is behind her with some four other of her women. To the left of the plakṣa-tree, the bathing is ingeniously combined with the seven steps. Here seven lotuses have sprouted up, strangely enough out of the familiar, but here quite misplaced, jewel pots. On two of these flowers the Bodhisattva sets his foot; thus the seven lotuses that sprout up under his seven footsteps are clearly indicated. At the same time, above his head floats a cloud from which streams of water and flowers pour down on to him.

Here the Bodhisattva has already reached the stature of a growing youth, and wears besides the usual dress of high-born boys the crescent ornement behind his head. On the left of the scene is a row of gods, standing, among whom is no figure that can be distinguished as Çakra or Brahmā, and a row of kneeling women, with high headdress, thus no servants but probably the apsaras mentioned at the birth. They have some objects in their hands, but this part of the relief is too damaged for us to see what they are.

We can see plainly that to make a whole of all this, the sculptor has had to sacrifice a good deal. At the birth-scene, the new-born infant himself, and the two gods who fold him in the cloth are missing; the two nāga-kings are not present at the bath, though they are responsible for the water. There was no room either for the large lotus on which the Bodhisattva rested before the seven steps were taken and the umbrella and the two fly-whisks are not given at all.

Deviations of this sort are very extraordinary when it concerns such an important incident as the birth of the Bodhisattva, for we should imagine both the Bodhisattva and the two gods who receive him, to be so deeply-rooted in the tradition that it was impossible to leave them out of the picture. This is the more striking because in other Indian art, all three, or at least the new-born infant and one of the gods, appear, and while, in other respects, the Barabuḍur sculptor so evidently adheres

to the existing tradition, even where the text omitted the particular in question: for example, the presence, known also in Gandhāra art [1]), of the standing woman who supports the young mother, and that of the attendant holding a water jug. In connection with my remarks on No 13 it is noticeable that at Amarāvatī too the child is sometimes left out and the two gods Çakra and Brahmā are replaced by four gods all alike, who nevertheless hold a cloth and are therefore not reduced to the role of spectator, like the five divine persons on the Barabudur scene [2]). Also as regards the placing of these three incidents on one relief, the Javan artist is not as original as might be thought, examples of two, the birth and seven steps, are known in Gandhāra; and when we see there just below the Bodhisattva coming out of Māyā's side, another image of him making the seven steps, the Barabudur scene is surely to be preferred, that represents the child only once. Even with the lotuses the Javan sculptor has not been original for this is to be found in Magadha [3]), but the way in which they are shewn is a vast improvement on that of his colleague in Hindustan who piles the lotuses stupidly on top of one another; the most sensible way is the later Tibetan manner of placing the lotuses in a cross towards the points of the compass. Finally it is curious that neither does the bath incident exactly imitate the Indian examples. As above quoted, the text describes first that the nāga's let the streams of water fall and afterwards Çakra, Brahmā and other gods pour out their water and flowers. It is known that the Gandhāra art adheres to the latter and shews the bath being performed by the gods, while the later Indian art prefers to give it to the nāga's. On Barabudur there are no nāga's, nor either any signs of the two gods who pour water over the Bodhisattva in Gandhāra. There is nothing to be seen but the gods as spectators who have no hand in the bathing, though perhaps the shower of blossoms may be an indication that the sculptor intended the bath by the gods, not the nāga's, the flowers being mentioned in the text only for the gods. The impression of the whole is, that in spite of being bound by text and

[1]) Representations of the birth in the Gandhāra art, generally with a good deal of resemblance among them, are to be found A.G.B. I fig. 152 p. 301, 154 p. 306, 158 p. 311, 164 p. 321, 208 p 412, the seven steps fig. 155 p. 307, and the bath fig 156 p. 309, 157 p. 310 Also Burgess, The Gandhara sculptures, Journ. of Ind Art and Industry 8 (1898) pl 10; Grunwedel-Burgess, Buddhist Art in India (1901) fig. 64 and 65, Burgess, The ancient monuments, temples and sculptures of India (1897) pl 98, 126, 134.

[2]) T.S W pl 65 and 91 : Burgess pl. 32 (= 91) From Amarāvatī is also A.G B II fig. 506 p. 563

[3]) See Foucher, Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde I (1900) fig 28 p. 160; also from Magadha A G.B II fig. 500 p 545

tradition, the artist of the Barabuḍur exhibits a surprising amount of originality.

In other Buddhist art as well, the birth of Çākyamuni remains a favorite subject, in that of Sānchi[1]), Sarnāth[2]), Ajaṇṭā[3]) Cambodia[4]), Pagān[5]), the Indian miniatures[6]), the Serindian[7]), the elder Chinese[8]), the later Tibetan[9]) art. As Barabuḍur by the singular combination of three incidents is so exceptional, there is no reason for comparing with the other examples. With all the variations, one chief thing has remained the same: the tree and the queen holding it with one hand (later always the right, in the older art sometimes the left hand) in the middle, with her attendants on her left side and the gods on her right; if necessary the two groups are reduced to one representative for each. As for the rest, this scheme could be combined in various ways with whatever text was followed by the sculptor.

29. *The congratulations and feasting of ṛṣi's and brahmans*

Then all the ṛṣi's from other parts, who were present in India and acquainted with the fivefold knowledge came flewing through the air to king Çuddhodana, set themselves before him and gave utterance to their wishes for health and prosperity. And all the troups of Çākya's gathered together and uttered cries of joy, gave gifts, performed meritorious deeds, and every day satisfied two and thirty hundred thousand brahmans; whatever each of them needed, it was given unto him. Çakra, the king of the gods, and Brahmā took

[1]) A.G.B II fig. 474 p. 387.

[2]) A M.I fig 67, 68; A.G.B I fig 209 p 413; II fig 498 p 539; fig 507, p. 563; I.B.I. fig. 29 p. 163; Journ. Roy. As. Soc. 1907 1.1 pl 4

[3]) Foucher, Lettre p. 223; comp Paintings pl 28

[4]) A.G.B. I fig. 153 p. 303.

[5]) Seidenstücker, abb. 12—18, p. 29, 84—86, 90.

[6]) I.B I pl. X, 3

[7]) Grünwedel, Altbuddh Kunstst Turkest fig 383 (A G B II fig 523 p. 605); Stein, Serindia II p. 855 foll and pl LXXIV (Tun-Huang).

[8]) Chavannes, Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale, Publ. Ec franç. d' Extr. Or XIII, 2 (1915) fig 275 and pag 319 (Yun-Kang), fig. 1735 and pag. 555 (Longmen); fig. 432 and pag. 590. In all three of these cases the bath (by the nāga's) and the seven steps follow immediately.

[9]) See ill. in Grunwedel, Buddhistische Kunst in Indien (1900) abb 50 on p. 105, or Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei (1900) abb. 7 pag. 16; more modern Hackin 11 pl I; compare above pag. 9.

the foremost seats in that conclave of brahmans, after assuming the human form, and pronounced these verses of congratulation (96 : 17, 21).

On the extreme right, in front of a very much damaged building, are sitting armed guards and unarmed servants of the king who sits on his throne a little to the left, in a pĕndåpå. According to Wilsen's drawing this little building was a gateway, but there may be some imagination about that. Opposite to the king also on a dais in the same pĕndåpå, is a ṛṣi, to be recognised by his untidy, done up-high mass of hair but otherwise rather delapidated ; between them a dish of food(?). The left hand of the relief gives the feasting of the brahmans. These are sitting in the left hand corner under a small pĕndapa-roof, one of them is seated a little higher, a second sits on the ground, a pupil stands behind with an umbrella, the (very indistinct) head and arm of a fourth seem to be sticking up above the seat. Both the first-mentioned have each a meal set before them, among which the large balls of rice and dishes with sambalan's and other things can be descried. Between this group and the pĕndåpå of the king the distributors of food are sitting or standing, they look just like servants, not at all like Çākya's of distinction as given by the text. The sitting ones have in their hands a water-jug with a spout, a box, and a bowl ; the first of the standing ones is ready to serve out from a basin, with a spoon, while those behind him are bringing dishes and bowls. A tree in the background.

30. *Gautamī undertakes the care of the Bodhisattva*

Seven days after the birth of the Bodhisattva, his mother, queen Māyā died. After her death she was born again among the three and thirty gods. Thereupon five hundred Çākya-women spoke each to herself in this wise : „I shall take on myself the care of the prince". But the eldest Çākya's, both men and women, said: „All these women are young, beautiful, well-formed and proud of their youth and beauty ; they are not suited to bring up the Bodhisattva as it befits. None other than Mahāprajāpati Gautamī here, the sister of the prince's mother, is able to bring up the prince in a wholly satisfactory manner, and to assist king Çuddhodana". As soon as they were agreed upon this, they encouraged Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. Therefore she brought up the young prince. And two and thirty

nurses were appointed to the Bodhisattva, eight to carry him, eight to give him milk, eight to bathe him and eight to play with him". (97 : 3 ; 100 : 10).

The middle of the relief is taken up by a large pavilion ; within sits king Çuddhodana with his son on his knees, on each side of him a group of women. The Bodhisattva again has the half-moon ornement behind his head. Among the women a few hold a bowl or dish and must be servants as can be noticed by their dress ; the one sitting directly in front of the king has nothing to distinguish her from the others, so there would be no reason to think she is the princess Gautamī. Although it is most probable, considering the position of the relief between the feasting of the brahmans and the visit of Asita, that the choice of a foster-mother is here intended, there is still a good deal of doubt, because also the old Çākya's of the text are omitted. Right and left of the pavilion, servants are sitting under a palm-tree, armed guards only on the right. In connection with the possibility that we may have here before us some other scene than the text suggests, I must mention that the return from Lumbinī to Kapilavastu, a favorite scene in sculptured art, at least in that of Gandhāra [1]), that should have found a place here, is altogether missing on Barabuḍur, notwithstanding the elaborate description in the Lalitavistara.

31. *The visit of Asita*

At that time there lived on the slopes of the Himālaya, the king of the mountains, a great ṛṣi, named Asita, learned in the fivefold knowledge, with his sister's son Naradatta. Now this Asita saw at the birth of the Bodhisattva many miraculous and supernatural apparitions. He rose up with his sister's son Naradatta into the air as a royal swan and flew to the great city of Kapilavastu.

And Asita, the mighty ṛṣi, spoke thus to king Çuddhodana: "Unto thee great king is born a son, and I am come hither desirous to look upon him" . . . Thereupon king Çuddhodana took up prince Sarvārthasiddha gently and carefully in both hands and brought him to Asita, the great ṛṣi. And when he saw that the Bodhisattva was marked with the thirty two signs of the Great Being, he wept,

[1]) A.G.B I pag. 310—314 and fig. 157—160 On the contrary the journey to Lumbinī, (No. 27 of this series) has not yet been found in Gandhāra.

shedding tears and sighing deep. King Çuddhodana.... spake unto Asita, the great ṛṣi: "Wherefore, o ṛṣi, doest thou weep and shed tears, and heave deep sighs? Is there any danger for the prince?" At these words spake Asita, the great ṛṣi, to king Çuddhodana: „I do not weep for the prince and no danger threatens him. Nay I weep for myself. And for what cause ? Great king, I am old, full of years and worn with age.... This prince shall without doubt attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom and save a hundred thousand million koṭi's of beings from the ocean of life's circle to the other coast and help them to attain immortality. And we shall not see that jewel of a Buddha. Therefore I weep, great king. (101 : 1 ; 102 : 1 ; 103 : 1, 8, 21 ; 104 : 3 ; 105 : 3).

Asita points out the thirty-two chief signs and eighty additional signs of the future Buddha, he is feasted and departs.

The fulness of detail with which the text relates this Simeon episode, compels me to curtail the quotations and refer the reader to the text for the whole tale.

The king and his visitors are sitting in a pĕndåpå on the left of the relief with a dish full of wreaths between them, on a wide seat with cushions. The king has his son upon his knee, the child holds a stem, probably of a flower in his hand ; behind him some female servants are standing and sitting. The bearded ṛṣi Asita sits in front making a sĕmbah ; behind him Naradatta without a beard. Both have their hair in the usual fashion of ṛṣi's fastened up in a large coil, and both wear the necklace customary for ṛṣi's as well as ascetics. The ṛṣi is evidently lost in contemplation of the Bodhisattva ; no trouble has been taken to shew his sadness, as for instance is done on a Gandhāra-relief by putting him with his hand to his head [1]). On the right of the pĕndåpå three female attendants are coming with garments etc. as gifts for the guests, but this part of the relief is not very distinct. Further, there is a building in the background, possibly a guard-house, the usual guard seated, and finally on the extreme right three horses and an elephant, with his mahout holding the angkuça. These animals have nothing to do with the Asita episode, so they must have been put in as decoration.

The representations of Asita's visit in the Gandhāra art [2]), differ in so far from those on Barabuḍur, that the queen is also present and

[1]) A.G.B. I fig. 161 p. 305

[2]) A.G.B. I fig. 160 p. 313 162 p. 131, 165 p. 323, and the one already mentioned

Asita, not the father, is holding the child. The last is also the case on the painting at Ajaṇṭā, of which only the one ṛṣi figure with the child is known to us[1]), so that we can form no idea of the further design of the scene. The old Chinese art gives only Asita with the child[2]) ; on the contrary at Pagān the king holds his son, that is if the interpretation of the relief is correct. [3])

32. *Maheçvara and other gods sons do homage to the Bodhisattva*

> As soon as the Bodhisattva was born, the gods son Maheçvara turned to the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods sons and spake thus: "The Bodhisattva, the Great Being, has appeared in the world and will in a short time attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Come, let us go and greet him, do him homage, honor and praise him". Then the gods son Maheçvara surrounded and followed by twelve hundred thousand gods sons, after filling the whole great city of Kapilavastu with radiance, came to the place where king Çuddhodana's palace stood . . . and after saluting the Bodhisattva's feet with his head and throwing his upper garment over one shoulder, he walked round him some hundred thousand times, keeping his right side towards him, took the Bodhisattva in his arms and spoke encouraging words to Çuddhodana. After the gods son Maheçvara with the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods sons had thus performed the ceremony of the great homage, he returned to his own dwelling. (112:3, 13; 113:1, 4, 11, 13).

On this relief too the royal pĕndåpå is on the left, here with triçūla-ornements on the roof, king Çuddhodana still sits with his son on his knee on a cushion with some female attendants behind him. The gods also sit on cushions, three of them; the nearest, making a sĕmbah, must be Maheçvara. Nothing is to be seen of the homage to the feet of the Bodhisattva or of a pradakṣiṇā; the gods son is sitting just like the ṛṣi on the last relief. The right is occupied by the king's suite, servants standing, some of them with the usual bowls of flowers, and seated ones,

[1]) Fergusson-Burgess, The cave temples of India (1880) p 308, Burgess, Notes on the Bauddha rocktemples of Ajanta, Arch Surv. West Ind 9 (1879) pl. 14; Griffiths, Paintings, pl 45; Foucher, Lettre p 224

[2]) Chavannes, Mission, fig 432, p 590

[3]) Seidenstucker, abb. 20 and p 31 and 91 For Cambodia see A.G.B II fig. 518 p 589.

the front ones only bearing swords and shields, while in the background, as well as the king's umbrella, bows and arrows are to be seen [1]).

33. *The Çākya's request that the prince may be brought to the temple*

> Then the oldest Çākya's, men and women, gathered together, came to king Çuddhodana and spake thus: "O king, this thou should know, the prince must be brought to the temple". And he answered and said: "It is well, let the prince be brought there." (118:3).

Here again the king is sitting with his son on his knee, he is placed quite in front because those with whom he converses are outside the pĕndåpå. Behind him and inside the building, some female attendants are kneeling; the front one who has nothing in her hands and on whose hip the king rests his hand, might be Gautamī, but according to the text, she was not present at the conversation, as the king informs her later, on his return to the palace, of his commands for the procession to the temple. On the right, outside the pĕndåpå, are sitting servants and guards. On the left stand and sit a number of persons, men and women, whom we must consider the Çākya's and their followers; the front one, who has a vase in the hand, seems to be a brahman. This group is very much damaged; but it is still clear that in any case those sitting at the back, as well as the three figures standing, the last ones with a fly-whisk and gifts in their hands, belong to the staff of attendants. In the background there are some trees.

34. *The procession to the temple*

> Thus, while praise and rejoicing sounded everywhere and the streets, crossways, markets and gateways were dressed with innumerable adornments, king Çuddhodana set forth after decorating the carriage of the prince within the palace, accompanied and followed by brahmans, teachers of the veda's, chiefs of the guilds, heads of families, councillors, rulers of the frontier, guardians of the gateways, followers, friends and relations, with the prince along the road, that was sprinkled with perfumes, strewn with blossoms, filled with

[1]) Perhaps this homage is also represented at Pagān, Seidenstucker abb. 21, p. 32 etc., 81 and 92. According to the latter, the passage not preserved in the Avadūrenidāna, might be borrowed from the Lalitavistara

horses, elephants, carriages and troops on foot, where umbrellas, flags and banners were planted and all kinds of music resounded. A hundred thousand gods drew the carriage of the Bodhisattva and many hundred thousand millions of koṭi's of the gods sons and apsaras scattered showers of blossoms in the air and made melody upon instruments of music. (119 : 11).

Comparing the text with what is represented on the relief, it is interesting to notice the way in which the Barabuḍur sculptors worked. Here they had to depict the procession of Çuddhodana and his son with attendants. and that the sculptor has given, but he has passed over all the details in the description. To begin with the gods are left out, those who were to draw the carriage as well as those who enlivened the journey with music and flowers. No notice has been taken of the selection of the king's company according to the text, or of the appearance of the road. What remains is as follows : A large four-wheeled carriage and four, with canopy, in which are sitting the king, the Bodhisattva, with his usual crescent ornement, and two female attendants. The driver is seated on the shaft, behind the carriage crouches a soldier. In front and behind are servants and guards, the last of whom in the front group carry bow and arrows, in the back one, swords. In this way the sculptor carried out the instructions.

35. *The gods of the temple do honor to the Bodhisattva*

Then king Çuddhodana and the prince entered the temple, with great royal ceremony, great royal splendor, and great royal magnificence. As soon as the Bodhisattva placed the sole of his right foot upon the floor in that temple, the lifeless images of the gods, of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Candra, Sūrya, Vaiçravaṇa, Çakra, Brahmā, the Guardians of the world and other images, stood up each from its pedestal and threw themselves at the feet of the Bodhisattva. And all the gods of whom these were the likeness, shewed their own shape and spake these verses. (119 : 19; 120 : 7).

The text places the doing homage, inside the temple but the relief gives it outside the building. The temple is on the left side of the scene. It is of two storeys, a double door with a kāla-makara ornement, next to that panels of so-called wallpaper-design and pilasters ; above, the same pilasters and windows ornemented with a reversed triçūla. The roof slopes

straight up; in the centre it is crowned with a cakra between two banners; on the right side of the temple a porch projects supported by columns, and here sits a rākṣasa as temple-guard with the usual short sword. Two persons look out of the window, probably gods; a third is coming out of the half-open door. Four gods are already outside the temple; three are kneeling, one standing, all make a reverent sĕmbah to the Bodhisattva advancing on the right. Among the gods the one standing and not wearing the usual style of high hair-dressing, but merely a tied-up coil of hair, is probably Brahmā, who is also represented elsewhere as Çikhin. The Bodhisattva is standing next to his father, both with haloes and an umbrella over their heads; behind them the suite, sitting and standing servants with the ordinary objects and soldiers armed with swords or bow and arrows. It is curious that the Bodhisattva here all at once has no halo, which he was given in the last relief in the carriage. Observe that here he is for the last time represented as a child, that is to say with a low diadem on his head: on the following reliefs he wears the ordinary royal headdress.

36. *The offering of jewels and their loss of brilliance*

Then king Çuddhodana caused five hundred ornements to be made by five hundred Çākya's, namely, ornements for the hand, the feet, the head and the neck, ornements with seals, rings for the ear and arm, girdles, silk-stuffs woven with gold, gauze woven with bells and jewels and ornemented with the maṇi-stone, shoes embellished with all kinds of precious stones, pearl necklaces, bracelets and diadems.

And when the night was past and the sun had risen, the Bodhisattva went to the park called Vimalavyūha, and there was received into the arms of Mahāprajāpati Gautamī. Eighty thousand women came there and beheld the face of the Bodhisattva, and ten thousand girls came and five thousand brahmans. Then the ornements that the fortunate Çākya-king had caused to be made were placed upon the Bodhisattva's body. As soon they were put on, they were dimmed by the radiance of the Bodhisattva's body, they glittered no more, sparkled no more, they ceased to shine.

Whereupon Vimalā, the godess of the park, appeared in heavenly

person, stood before them, and spoke to king Çuddhodana and the great company of Çākya's, these verses: "He shines with his own glory, and is adorned by a hundred virtues; on him whose body is without blemish, jewels will lose their lustre; the radiance of the sun and moon, the stars and the glitter of the maṇi-stone, the brightness of Çakra and Brahmā grows dim in the effulgence of his splendor. He, whose body is embellished with tokens, the signs of his former good deeds, what should he do with worthless adornments made by the hands of others?" (121 : 5,16; 122 : 10, 21).

Two episodes of the above-quoted story are depicted on this relief, the offering of the ornements and Vimalā's explanation of their loss of brilliance. In the middle of the relief and giving the mise-en-scène for both pictures, are the trees of the park. On the right, on a throne in a pĕndåpå sits the Bodhisattva, to be recognised by his nimbus; contrary to the text he is not shewn on Gautamī's knee; she herself is not there, and the many thousand women are represented by one solitary attendant with a fly-whisk standing quite on the left, the brahmans are nowhere to be seen. Here too the sculptor has neglected the circumstantial details. In front and behind the Bodhisattva sits a servant, quite to the right, an armed soldier. On the left the Çākya's are advancing with the ornements to be presented, they are dressed like ordinary courtiers, the front one is holding a headdress, those following, trays with rings and other trinkets.

On the left part of the relief, also a pĕndåpå in which is seated a person in royal robes. The space behind him is filled with standing women, sitting servants and soldiers. In front of him sits a courtier and just under the last tree of the park, the female figure, who by her attitude must be addressing the seated royal personage. This woman can be no other than Vimalā the godess. The chief figure according to Pleyte (p. 59) should be the Bodhisattva and though it is not impossible, as proved by the relief following, that the same person is depicted twice on the same panel, I am not able to agree with him about this, not only because the figure in question in contrast to the Bodhisattva wears no halo (compare foll. relief), but because the text states expressly that it is Çuddhodana to whom the godess speaks. In my opinion the figure in the left hand pĕndåpå is the king who is being told the cause of the miraculous occurrence.

37. *The arrival at school*

When the prince had grown up in this way, he was brought to the school with hundred thousands of good wishes, surrounded and followed by ten thousand boys and ten thousand carts filled with delicious food and things good to eat and filled with gold and silver.

As soon as the Bodhisattva had entered the school, Viçvāmitra the schoolmaster, fell with his face to the ground, for the majesty and radiance of the Bodhisattva was greater than he could bear. When a Tuṣitakāyika gods son named Çubhāngga, saw him lying thus, he took him by the right hand and raised him up. (123: 15 ; 124 : 9).

We have ventured to omit the further description given in the text of the procession that escorted the prince to school, the instruments of music, the strewing of flowers, the young girls on the balconies and galleries of the houses, the gods daughters and other demi-godlike beings who joined the troop ; because the relief shews nothing of all this. Instead, the sculptor gives him a rather misplaced military escort, the more unsuitable, because he leaves out the boys with the carts of good things for distribution etc. that are mentioned in the first place by the text. The procession advances from the left. In front come two men in full dress, one with an umbrella over him, doubtless the king and his son, who has no halo. Behind them, kneeling and standing servants with the usual objects and soldiers with sword, bow and arrows. In front of the royal persons kneels the schoolmaster and behind him stands a second very much damaged figure. This reception takes place before the entrance to the school : just behind the master the school gateway can be seen next to which a palissade begins. On the gateway a pair of peacocks are perched; a third is flying towards them. Inside the palissade a pĕndåpà can be discerned, which according to the next relief is used for a school building. At the door are two figures, one holding a book, who will be a pupil, while on the extreme right the schoolmaster has sunk down overcome and is being assisted by the gods son in brahman dress who holds his right hand. This part is very much damaged and worn away. On this relief we see represented two consecutive episodes showing the same person twice.

38. *The teaching in the school*

When the Bodhisattva had taken a writing-tablet made of uragasāra-sandelwood of a rich color edged with gold and encrusted with jewels, he spake thus to the master Viçvāmitra: "Well, teacher, what kind of writing wilt thou teach me? Brāhmī or Kharoṣṭī or" ? etc. And Viçvāmitra the master replied smiling with a cheerful countenance and without any pride or self-conceit: "Marvellous it is, how the pure Being, having come to the world follows the world's uses ; learned in all çāstra's, yet he comes to the children's school. Writings of which I know not even the name, learned in these, yet he comes to the children's school."

And there, ten thousand boys learned writing with the Bodhisattva. While the boys spelled the alphabet, whenever the letter A was spoken, by the power of the Bodhisattva the sound was uttered: "A-ll appearance is transitory" etc. (125 : 17; 126 : 13; 127 : 3).

The teaching goes on in two adjacent pĕndåpå's. In the largest, on the right, sits (left) Viçvāmitra, here, for some curious reason, beardless though bearded in the last relief, and on the right the Bodhisattva with his knee held in the sling like a real prince, and just behind him two attendants in brahman-dress very much dilapidated; the rest of the servants and soldiers are next to the pĕndåpå quite to the right. In the left-hand pĕndåpå, on the roof of which four doves are perched, and at the side of it under a tree, the schoolmates are sitting, many with palm-leaf rolls in their hand. This writing material commonly-used in Java has taken the place of the writing tablets found, according to the text, on the Gandhāra-reliefs [1]). On one of these tablets fragments of one of the verses known from the text, that was uttered at the spelling of the alphabet, could be recognised; so the Gandhāra sculptor will have had the same passage from the Lalitavistara in mind. On these Gandhāra-reliefs only the Bodhisattva is sitting, the others stand round him. The school is also to be seen at Ajaṇṭā [2]), and in Serindia [3]).

39. *The journey to the village*

When the prince had grown older, he went once with other youths, sons of councillors, to see a village of farmers. (128 : 15).

[1]) A G B. I fig. 156—167 and pag 322—326

[2]) Foucher, Lettre p 224, Griffiths, Paintings pl 45.

[3]) Stein, Serindia II p. 856 and pl. LXXVI (Tun-Huang).

The procession that accompanies the prince to the country begins with a horseman armed with bow and arrows, whom Pleyte (p. 62) thinks to be the king. Considering that in the text the king does not accompany the expedition and that the horseman in question is followed by a troop similarly armed, it seems more probable that he is only the captain of the body-guard. Next comes the prince in a carriage-and-pair of the ordinary covered four-wheeled sort. The coachman is mounted on one of the horses (though probably meant to be on the shaft); a soldier at the back; in the carriage, the Bodhisattva with a lotus in his hand and three companions. Next to the horses walk a couple of servants, behind the carriage another troup of soldiers, armed most of them with sword and shield.

So as we see, the text does not describe the manner of the journey; and for want of other representations we cannot find out whether the sculptor followed his own fancy or some actual tradition in making this a carriage-expedition.

40. *The Bodhisattva under the jambu-tree; homage by ṛṣi's*

While the Bodhisattva roamed about here and there aimless, alone and without a companion, he saw a lofty and splendid jambu-tree and sat down, his legs crossed, beneath its shade. Sitting there, he fixed his thoughts upon one subject.

About that time five strange ṛṣi's skilled in the fivefold knowledge and possessed of supernatural power, flew through the air from South to North. When they came above that part of the forest, they became as it were held back and could go no further. Filled with anger and impatience, they spoke this verse: "We, who have been able to fly through the air, above the city of the immortals and over the dwellings of yakṣa's and gandharva's, are held back at this part of the forest. Whose is the might that can destroy our supernatural power?" And there answered the deity of that part of the forest and spoke to the ṛṣi's this verse: "The offspring of the race of the king of kings, the son of the Çākya-king, radiant with the brilliance of the morning sun, shining with the color of the unfolding lotus flower, lovely as the face of the moon, the lord of the world, the wise one, has come here into the forest, his thoughts given only to meditation, honored by gods, gandharva's, nāga-princes and yakṣa's, having

accumulated his merit in hundreds of koṭi's of lives; his might destroys your supernatural power". And when the ṛṣi's heard these words of the deity, they flew down to the earth and saw the Bodhisattva in meditation, pure of body and glittering like a heap of brilliance. Turning their thoughts towards the Bodhisattva, they praised him with verses.

When the ṛṣi's had praised the Bodhisattva with these verses and walked three times round him turning their right side towards him, they vanished through the air. Meanwhile king Çuddhodana found no content, not seeing the Bodhisattva. He said: "Where is the prince gone to? I see him not". Then many people went out on all sides to seek the prince. And a councillor not belonging to them, saw the Bodhisattva sitting in meditation in the shade of the jambu-tree, his legs crossed. By that time of day the shadows of all trees had shifted, but the shade of the jambu had not deserted the person of the Bodhisattva.

(128 : 18 ; 129 : 12, 19 ; 131 : 1, 19).

Though in some of the well-known events in the life of the Buddha, the sculptors have followed certain ancient traditions from the continent, as well as the text, this is not the case with the equally well-known scene of the "first meditation" under the jambu-tree. In the old-Indian art, the lakṣaṇa that distinguishes this event, is the presence of a farmer behind his ox-drawn plough, to make it clear that the meditation is the one of the village and no other [1]). On the Barabuḍur there is no sign of the farmer-ploughman. The Bodhisattva sits in the prescribed attitude with crossed legs in dhyāna-mudrā, on a slope between two trees. To the right are more trees, and to shew that this is a forest and not a pleasure-garden or suchlike, two deer are lying near the Bodhisattva. We can appreciate the impossibility of doing justice to the faithful shadow, in sculpture! The episode of the ṛṣi's is represented. With hair dressed in the knotted fashion usual among ascetics and the accustomed necklace, all wearing beards, they are kneeling on the left of the relief making a respectful sĕmbah ; the front one bows so far forward that his hands rest on the ground. Two heavenly ones are hovering above the ṛṣi's, also making a sĕmbah, according to Pleyte (p. 63) the wood-god and a companion; in my opinion more probably (why should the wood-god be

[1]) A. G. B. I p. 346.

floating in the air, and whence comes the never-mentioned companion?) a couple of not-specially described heavenly beings who witness the miracle. Also rather obscure is the identity of the large group sitting on the right under the trees, that consists of servants and soldiers. Here too, I cannot agree with Pleyte, who looks upon them as the minister and his suite, who when the king had become anxious, found the prince (p. 63). The text distinctly states that the councillor, as soon as he discovered the Bodhisattva, hastily informed the king, who at once set off for the jambu-tree to do homage to his son. There is no accommodation here for the councillor and his (nowhere mentioned) suite; it would be more likely that this is the king doing homage, as in fact is to be met with on Gandhāra-reliefs.[1]) But on the Barabudur scene, the objection to that is, besides the difficulty of the ṛṣi's having taken flight before the king arrives, that the figure sitting in the foreground is an umbrella-bearer, and that this umbrella, judging by the attitude of the bearer, belongs to the Bodhisattva, while nowhere in the group is a person in royal robes to be found. The simplest explanation seems to be that it is after all only the Bodhisattva's ordinary retinue, that the sculptor can not resist inserting even where the suite is not present in the text.

The representations of this episode in other Indian art are recognisable, as already mentioned, by the figure of the farmer ploughing. The ancient relief of Mahābodhi[2]) shews him next to the empty throne under a tree, on which the Lord is supposed to be sitting; in Gandhāra he is never omitted[3]) and in the same way he is found at Ajaṇṭā[4]). The ṛṣi's on the contrary are nowhere pictured[5]). Points of similarity with Barabudur are therefore not found elsewhere, except of course the Bodhisattva himself seated in dhyāna-mudrā[6]).

The next chapter begins with a conversation between Çuddhodana and the Çākya's who warn the king that, according to the prophecy,

[1]) Foucher, Sikri pl. 10; A G B I fig. 175 pag. 342; II fig 353 p 95; cf. fig 434 p. 251.

[2]) Cunningham, Mahâbodhi or the great Buddhist temple at Buddha-Gayā (1892) pl 8, 11, as well as A G B I fig 177 p 347

[3]) Besides the already-mentioned, A G B fig 176 p 345; J I A I 8 pl 25 On this last, the companions are present on the right

[4]) Foucher, Lettre p 224.

[5]) Maybe perhaps A G B II fig 489 p 521 (Mathurā)

[6]) On the relief at Sarnāth, Journ Roy As Soc 11 pl 4, if rightly recognised for the same scene, the farmer and his plough are omitted Wholly different is the scene at Pagān; Seidenstucker, abb 23 and 24; p 35 etc and 92

the prince will become either a Buddha or a ruler of the world, and that as the latter is the more desirable, it would be well to bind him to this world by marriage.

41. *The Çākya's request the Bodhisattva to marry*

> Then spake king Çuddhodana and said: "If that is so, then look around which maiden would be suitable for the prince". Thereupon, the five hundred Çākya's said each to himself: "My daughter is suitable for the prince, my daughter is worthy of him". And the king answered: "The prince is not easy to please. Therefore we must inform him and ask: which is the maiden that finds favor in your eyes ?"
>
> Then they assembled all together and explained the matter to the prince. And the prince answered them and said: "In seven days shall ye know my answer". (137 : 5).

The Bodhisattva sits, leaning against the cushions and with his right leg in the support, in a pavilion-shaped niche with a pĕndåpå adjoining it on both sides. Above the roof of the pĕndåpå, trees can be seen. On the right, behind the Bodhisattva, sit his servants; left, where there is more room, the Çākya's are placed. The nearest who has a beard and is clearly a brahman, is their spokesman.

The king then orders all kinds of ornements to be made for the prince to distribute among the maidens on the seventh day.

42. *The Bodhisattva offers the ring to Gopā*

> Then all the young maidens of the great city of Kapilavastu gathered together in the assembly-hall where the Bodhisattva was seated, to be looked at by him and receive the magnificent ornements. The Bodhisattva gave unto all the maidens, that had come, the magnificent ornements; the maidens could not endure the majesty and radiance of the Bodhisattva and hastened away as soon as possible after receiving the magnificent ornements. Then came the daughter of the Çākya Daṇḍapāṇi, the Çākya-maiden Gopā, surrounded and followed by a retinue of slave-girls, to the assembly-hall, to the presence of the Bodhisattva and stood next to him ; and she looked on the Bodhisattva without closing her

eyes. By that time the Bodhisattva had given away all the magnificent ornements. Then she came to the Bodhisattva and spoke with a merry look: "Prince, what have I done that you despise me"? And he said: "I despise thee not but thou comest last of all". And he took from his finger a ring of many hundred thousands value and gave it to her. (142 : 1).

In the middle of a pavilion with two wings, the Bodhisattva is sitting on a throne, holding in his hand the ring which he offers to Gopā kneeling before him and making a sĕmbah. On the right, behind the Bodhisattva, inside and outside the pavilion, sit his servants and quite in the corner even two horses with their groom. In a pĕndapā adjoining the pavilion on the left Gopā's slaves might be sitting, if the sculptor had here followed the text; but as they are far too well dressed for slaves and none of them hold anything in their hands, it is much more likely that they are meant for the Çākya maidens who, in spite of the text, have not yet quitted the apartment. Outside the pĕndāpā two guards are seated. The roof of the pavilion is decorated with flowervases, and peacocks perch there as well as on the pĕndāpā; a dove is flying out of the left corner.

Gopā therefore is the bride selected for the Bodhisattva, but her father objects to give his daughter to a man who has never shewn any skill in learning or athletics.

43. *The Bodhisattva proclaims himself willing to shew his proficiency in learning and sport*

The Bodhisattva heard what was going on, he went to king Çuddhodana and spake unto him thus: "King, why art thou so sad of heart?" And the king replied: "Young man, say no more." The prince spoke: "King, yet is it better we should speak"; and the Bodhisattva repeated this question to king Çuddhodana three times. Thereupon the king told him of the matter. Then said the Bodhisattva: "King, is there here in the city any man who can compete with me in skill?" At this king Çuddhodana spoke to the Bodhisattva with a cheerful countenance: "Art thou able then to shew thy skill, my son?" And he answered: "That I am, king; therefore let all those exercised in all skill assemble together, that

I may shew my skill in their midst". Therefore king Çuddhodana proclaimed in the great and beautiful city of Kapilavastu, with ringing of bells: "In seven more days shall the prince shew his skill. Let all those exercised in all skill assemble together". (143 : 13).

On a seat in a pĕndápà with a projection on both sides, sit father and son, a bowl with undefineable contents between them. Both wear haloes, to which as regards the king there is not the least reason. In the projections of the pĕndápà, on the roof of which are peacocks, both inside and outside the retinue of both princes are seated; in the background, on each side, a tree.

44. *Devadatta kills the elephant*

Now on this occasion prince Devadatta set forth first from the city. And there was being brought into the town a white elephant of great size, intended for the Bodhisattva. Then prince Devadatta, beside himself with jealousy and proud of his Çākya strength, laid hold of the elephant by the trunk with his left hand and killed it with one blow of his right. (144 : 10).

The elephant advances on the left, and his kornak with the angkuça in his hand is kneeling behind it; then follow a number of men, probably those who conduct the animal, perhaps only spectators. Devadatta, to be known for a Çākya-prince by his lofty headdress, comes from the right, followed by several servants, part of them armed with swords, or bow and arrows. The prince is on the point of giving the death-blow, the right hand raised and open; his left arm is broken off, but enough is left to shew that it was stretched towards the animal's trunk. Both hands are thus in agreement with the text; what is not mentioned there is the position of the left leg, which is lifted pressed against the elephant's tusk. Also on the rather damaged Gandhāra-relief with this episode [1]), Devadatta stands opposite the elephant, his right hand raised, and seizes the animal by the trunk with his left. The elephant there appears half out of the gateway and there are no onlookers.

45. *The Bodhisattva hurls the elephant away*

Then after him came prince Sundarananda out of the city. He saw the elephant lying dead by the gateway and asked: "By whom

[1]) A G B. I fig. 169 p. 331.

was it killed"? Then the multitude answered: "By Devadatta". And he said: "It is an evil deed of Devadatta". And laying hold of the elephant by the tail, he drew it outside the gates of the city. Immediately after that came the Bodhisattva out of the gate, in a carriage; he saw the dead elephant and asked: "Who has killed it"? And they answered: "Devadatta", and he said: "This is an evil deed of Devadatta. And by whom was it dragged outside the gate?" They replied: "By Sundarananda." Then said the prince: "This is a good deed of Sundarananda. Yet this beast hath a great carcase that when it rots will fill the whole city with stench". Then standing on the carriage, he put out one foot to the ground and with his great toe lifted up the elephant by the tail and hurled it over seven walls and seven moats, till it was a kroça distant beyond the city. (144 : 15).

This relief is unfortunately very much damaged and the Bodhisattva as well as the elephant are missing. On what is left of the right side, we can see a fragment of the carriage particularly mentioned in the text, with some of the retinue armed like those of Devadatta in the preceding relief. As the next scene brings us into the midst of the trials of skill, and as it is hardly likely that Devadatta's wicked deed should be depicted and the still-mightier show of strength given by the Bodhisattva left unrecorded, the left half of the relief must surely have pourtrayed the hurling away of the elephant. Both episodes are shewn on the before mentioned Gandhāra-relief ; and there the incident of Nanda dragging the animal away, is inserted between them. In Tun-Huang the scene is different, the Bodhisattva lifting the elephant on his hand[1]). If we may trust our eyes, two of the elephant's feet can be descried on the lefthand lower corner of the dilapidated Barabuḍur relief.

46. *The arithmetic competition*

Then five hundred young Çākya's journeyed out of the city and came to another place where they exhibited their accomplishments. King Çuddhodana and the oldest Çākya's with a great multitude of people came also to the place, desirous to see how the Bodhisattva

[1]) Stein, Serindia II p. 856 and plate LXXVI This incident and other contests are not connected with the prince's betrothal

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and the other young Çākya's excelled in accomplishments And the Çākya's said: "Let the prince be the best in calligraphy, he must now shew his skill and knowledge of arithmetic". Now there was a cipherer among the Çākya's named Arjuna, a great arithmetician, a master of calculation ; he was chosen as judge : "Examine which of the young men here excells in arithmetic." Then the Bodhisattva gave a problem, one of the young Çākya's calculated it, but he could not solve it, etc. Then spoke king Çuddhodana thus to the Bodhisattva: "Can'st thou, my son, compete with the great calculator Arjuna in skill of the calculations of arithmetic?" and the Bodhisattva replied: "I can, o king". Then said the king: "Well then, begin".... And when the Bodhisattva explained this chapter of arithmetic, Arjuna, the great reckoner, and the whole company of the Çākya's were satisfied, delighted, cheerful, full of joy and great admiration". (145 : 15 ; 146 : 8 ; 147 : 14 ; 150 : 19).

The extensive description the text gives of the arithmetic competition, allows only a fragmentary quotation from the passages referring to it, but the relief requires little explanation. On the extreme right sits the king on a high seat wearing a halo, with another nearly-vanished figure beside him, evidently holding a fly-whisk in the hand, therefore a female servant. Below the seat are a number of attendants ; and near the king three more maid-servants. Then, more to the left, the unpretentious seat of the Bodhisattva, and under his chair a chest. The prince, of course with halo, by his gesture is explaining something, to which the Çākya's listen respectfully; they sit on a platform, some of them making a sĕmbah. Their position is to be recognised by the lofty headdress of the mighty ones, worn by the whole group. The scene is closed on the left by some sitting and standing guards.

47. *Continuation of the contests (no text)*

Here we have one of the very rare instances where the text followed by the sculptor differs from that of the Lalitavistara. We can only state that the scene must belong to the contests, for we find on No 49 the archery tournament, and that in any case the wrestling-match is *not* depicted, though separately described in the text and not unknown in sculpture [1]), so that its omission on Barabuḍur is the more noticeable.

[1]) A G B I fig 171 and 172, p. 334 etc Neither do the other contents, jumping, swimming, running get any notice. On p 156 of Lefmann's edition the full list will be found.

On this relief we see the Çākya's on the left in a group under a roof in a sort of pĕndâpâ, while in front of it one of them stands making a sĕmbah to the Bodhisattva. On the right are the king and his suite; the king is now sitting alone on his high throne and has a halo; two female servants with fly-whisks stand next to him, some attendants are kneeling near. In the centre of the relief the Bodhisattva stands on what looks like a cushion; two followers, one with an umbrella, stand behind. He holds with his right hand the stem of a large knob-shaped lotus, which grows out of a decorative plant [1]). This part of the relief is very much worn-off so that the figure we think is the Bodhisattva seems to have no halo, and we can't be quite sure about him, though he looks so likely, in the middle of the picture, taking an active part in the proceedings, in contrast to the figure looking on from his right-hand throne.

48. *Continuation (no text)*

This relief joins on directly to the preceding one. The chief business is the same, though the details vary a little. The principal person who by accident has lost both his headdress and aureole, still stands on his cushion in the centre, with his umbrella-bearer; he now has the lotus-plant on the other side and holds it with his left hand. The haloed king is again on a throne to the right, but this time in a pĕndâpâ; there are also a pair of kneeling attendants and the handmaidens standing, only more of them. On the left too are the Çākya's, now all on their feet; the furthest left, holds a large padma. Above this group, clouds are introduced. Although the presence of the Çākya's was to be expected, these figures as far as their costume is concerned, might as well be gods, who the text says [2]) were also present at the contests.

49. *The archery-tournament*

> Then Daṇḍapāṇi spake to the young Çākya's and said: "This is what we desired to know and we have seen it; come now and shew us the shooting with the bow". Then Ananda put up an iron drum at two kroça's as target and Devadatta at four kroça's, Sundarananda at six kroça's, Daṇḍapāṇi at two yojana's. The Bodhisattva set up an iron drum at ten kroça's, behind that, seven tāla-trees

[1]) The lotus plant, on this as well as the following relief, prevents me agreeing with Speyer (Onze Eeuw 1902, III, p 89) who explains these scenes as the moment when the Bodhisattva wins fame in further arithmetical problems, and the one where he proclaims himself ready for the wrestling match

[2]) 151 . 9; 153 · 4.

and an iron boar on a pedestal. Then Ananda hit the drum at two kroça's but could not get further, Devadatta the one at four, etc. But the Bodhisattva broke each bow that was handed to him. Then said the Bodhisattva: "Is there here in the city, o king, any other bow suited to my reach and power of body?" And the king replied: "There is, my son". "Where is it, o king"?, asked the prince. The king answered him: "Thy grandfather, my son, was named Siṃhahanu; his bow is preserved in a temple, honored with perfumes and garlands, but never has another man been able to bend the bow, let alone to draw it". The Bodhisattva said: "Let the bow be brought, o king, let us make trial of it". And the bow was brought immediately. Then the young Çākya's, though they put forth their utmost strength, were none of them able to bend the bow, let alone draw it.... At last the bow was brought to the Bodhisattva; and he took it with his left hand, and without rising from his seat, or uncrossing his legs, he drew it with the point of one finger of his right hand.

When the Bodhisattva had drawn the bow and fixed the arrow, he shot it off with the same strength. The arrow shot through the drums of Ananda, Devadatta, Sundarananda and Daṇḍapāṇi, all of them, and beyond that, at the distance of ten kroça's, his own iron drum, the seven tāla's and the iron boar on the pedestal, then pierced the ground and vanished utterly. (153:20; 154:10, 22; 155:14).

On the right, the king still sits on a throne under an awning, watching the contests; a servant, here too, kneels before him and there are two attendants maids with fly-whisks. Quite on the left are the seven tāla-trees in the rocky ground, the other objects used as targets are not shewn [1]), while it is noticeable that on the corresponding Gandhāra-reliefs, the targets figure prominently in the foreground [2]). Between the king and the trees are the Çākya's, standing, nearly all armed with bow and arrows, with some kneeling and sitting servants holding more arrows. The Çākya furthest to the left is drawing a bow; in the fore-

[1]) We might suppose that the rock closing in on the extreme left is a target, but this is not very likely.

[2]) A.G B. I fig. 170 p. 332, 171 p. 334; J.I.A.I. I.l. pl. 11. The fragmentary Serindian representation (Tun-Huang; Stein p. 857) is recognisable by the row of drums

ground stands another one, perhaps the Bodhisattva, with the bow in his right hand and the left in the attitude of having just shot, and we can see the arrow speeding in the direction of the trees. It does not agree with the text, that one Çākya is just bending his bow and a second stands in the pose for shooting at the same time as the Bodhisattva; for it is written that he took his turn last of all. It is of course possible that the sculptor may have had a variation of the text for this scene, and still more probable that the Bodhisattva is not the figure actually shooting, described here above, but the one with an arrow in one hand and the bow in the other, who is waiting his turn more to the right, and over whose head an umbrella is being held. Yet it seems strange that the sculptor did not prefer to depict the Bodhisattva giving his decisive shot, rather than the archery trials in general. The Gandhāra reliefs shew only one person shooting, of course the Bodhisattva; while the old Chinese art of the rock-temples at Yun-Kang [1]) gives a version that resembles this of Barabuḍur: on the left, three men shooting [2]) at the same time, and right, three or more trees to which here the metal drums are attached. The scene at Ajaṇṭā, that is to represent the archery-trials [3]), gives only one man bending the bow; the surroundings are not to be seen. The series of reliefs at Pagān shew too, only the Bodhisattva with bow and arrows in the midst of spectators [4]), while another scene also depicted at Pagān from the Sarabhangga-jātaka shews four more competitors [5]).

50. *Gopā defends herself against the reproach of going unveiled*

At this same time the Çākya Daṇḍapāṇi gave his daughter the Çākya-maiden Gopā to the Bodhisattva and she was accepted by king Çuddhodana for his son.

The Çākya-daughter Gopā did not veil her face in the presence of anyone, not for her mother-in-law, nor for her father-in law nor for the people of the palace. And they condemned her for this and spoke their disapproval: "This young woman is surely not modest for she remains always unveiled". Then when Gopā, the Çākya-

[1]) Chavannes, Mission fig 204 and p. 306

[2]) As all three are wearing a halo, Chavannes supposes that the Bodhisattva has tripled himself to hit the three targets at once

[3]) C T.I p 308 and Burgess, Notes pl 14

[4]) Seidenstucker, abb. 29 and p 37 and 93

[5]) To be found as fig 8 in Seidenstucker, p 36

daughter, became aware of this, she stood before all the people of the palace and spoke these verses: "Though those whose mind knows no cover, who have no shame or decorum, who have no such virtues and do not speak the truth, should cover themselves in a thousand garments, yet do they walk the earth more naked than nakedness. While those who veil their minds, have always their senses under control, are satisfied with their spouse, having no thought for anyone else, whose unveiled countenance is as the sun and moon, why should they cover their faces" ?

King Çuddhodana, when he heard these verses of Gopā the Çākya-daughter and understood the discernment thereof, was pleased, cheerful, satisfied, delighted, happy and joyful in spirit and gave unto Gopā, the Çākya-daughter two pieces of wearing-apparel sewed with many jewels and worth a hundred thousand koṭi's, with a necklace of pearls and a golden wreath set with genuine red pearls. (157 : 3, 10; 158 : 19; 159 : 10).

It is very strange that neither the wedding nor the bridal procession are pourtrayed ; subjects elaborated elsewhere by the sculptors [1]), and we are all at once plunged into an episode, that according to the text comes after the marriage. In addition to this the sequence of the Lalita-vistara and the monument do not quite agree, as the text gives the scene following this, *before* the episode of the veil-wearing.

The king sits on his throne, right, under a canopy ; on the left a pĕndåpå adjoins it, beneath which Gopā is seated on a cushion on a dais, making a sĕmbah towards the king. In the right hand corner of the relief sits a man with a moustache, his hair under a wreath, brushed smoothly back and twisted up, he has a flower in his hand. Two similar persons sit between Gopā and the king. They are rather like brahmans ; if they represent the "people of the palace" (*antarjana*) on this relief, it is not easy to make out why they are so unlike the usual members of the royal household; probably the version has been followed that the plaintiffs were brahmans. Behind Gopā some handmaidens are sitting, the nearest one has a lotus flower, the next one a garment, another holds a wreath, evidently the gifts Gopā is to receive from her father-in-law. Quite on the left is another remarkable figure, a man whose face has been knocked off, and whose hairdressing is in the brahman style; he stands dipping

1) A. B. I fig 172—174, pag. 335—337.

a brush into a bowl held in his left hand. This fignre makes us inquire, if our reading of this relief is correct and if this scene may have something to do with the wedding ceremony; then it might be the giving-away of the bride to her father-in-law (or perhaps to the unhaloed bridegroom) and the man with the brush would remind us of the sprinkling with holy water as part of the ceremony. All the same it would be very queer if the sculptor in depicting the marriage, should omit the joining of hands and the walking round the fire and be satisfied with representing a ceremony of secondary importance. For this reason I have kept to the episode of the veil-wearing as title for this relief on account of the elaborate description in the text, while the actual marriage ceremony is treated of in a couple of lines. Finally, it is not impossible that this might have something to do with the passage quoted below i.e. the installation (*abhiṣeka*) as principal spouse.

51. *Gopā as spouse-in-chief*

> Then came the Bodhisattva in the midst of eighty-four thousand women, and showed himself occupied, according to the usage of the world, with amusement and play. Among the eighty-four thousand wives, Gopā, the Çākya-daughter, was installed as spouse-in-chief. (157 : 6).

The explanation of this relief too is very uncertain. It consists of two parts, that apparently have to be taken separately. The left half is clear. Gopā we recognise by her lofty headdress as chief spouse, leaning on the shoulder of a attendant; she is going towards a pĕndāpà where a number of other women, by their attitude and attire not servants, but fellow-spouses, wait for her. This must be her first appearance as chief spouse of the Bodhisattva. But we are not able to explain clearly what happens on the right. The scene plays out-of-doors, there are trees in the background. The Bodhisattva is there on a throne in the middle, with his halo, the left leg in the sling. On the left some men sitting on the ground, not servants in appearance, some of them making a sĕmbah. On the right, three female attendants with the usual trays and a fourth, with a fly-whisk in her hand, next to the Bodhisattva. I can not agree with Pleyte's idea (p. 79) that this last woman should be Gopā being presented by the Bodhisattva to the Çākya's as his chief wife; the idea of the first of all the spouses holding a fly-whisk, the emblem of servants, seems to me absurd; but I have no better explanation to offer.

52. *The gods visit the Bodhisattva in the women's apartments*

> Then there came, proclaiming the satisfaction of their hearts with cries of joy, to the Bodhisattva who was in the midst of the women's apartments, Çakra, Brahmā and the Guardians of the world, among other gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's, mahoraga's and shewed their desire to honor the Bodhisattva.
>
> They greeted the Bodhisattva with respect and devotion, with hands held in sĕmbah, gazing intentionally upon him and with this wish: "When shall the time come that we may behold the most perfect Pure Being set forth and afterwards having placed himself at the feet of the king of the great trees and vanquished Māra with his hosts, attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom?" (159:19; 160 : 10).

This scene closes on the right with a gateway. Immediately adjoining comes the interior of the women's apartments. First under an awning, a wide bench; at the end, left, the Bodhisattva on a throne (without his halo) and in the space between a concert being given by women seated on the bench and some in a row, lower down, who are probably women too, but the relief here is rather damaged. The vīṇā, a cither with tassles, hand-drum, flute and cymbals are clearly to be seen; the music is quite in accordance with the text that alludes expressly to the concert in the women's appartments in reference to something else (163 : 6). In front of the Bodhisattva, two women are standing, one of whom offers him something, then comes a pĕndåpå in which the gods are seated; the front one makes a sĕmbah. Outside the pĕndåpå, left on the relief, we see a row of standing and a row of sitting attendants with the usual accessories, and guards with swords. Most of them surely belong to the Bodhisattva's suite, but one figure in the front, with a sword and his wild yakṣa-locks and moustache might be one of those semi-divine creatures whose presence is mentioned in the text. This supposition is not quite probable, as we see on No 53 and 55 a kind of yakṣa doing duty as gate-keeper.

This scene of the Bodhisattva in the women's apartments, agrees with representations elsewhere of the same episode ; the great difference is that there the aim of the sculptors was a picture of life in the zenana giving not only the Bodhisattva in the midst of his wives but also

Gopā; while at Barabuḍur, the combination of this scene with the visit of the gods required Gopā to be left out and the other ladies pushed a bit to one side. It is not certain whether a relief at Amarāvatī [1]) can be accepted as the scene in the women's apartment; we see an eminent personage with a lady on a large throne under a canopy, with women-musicians and other attendants next to them and in front on the ground. But the identification of a couple of Gandhāra-reliefs [2]) is certain, where this scene forms a pendant to that of the women asleep before the Great Departure; a couch with the Bodhisattva and his spouse, surrounded by slaves, many with musical instruments: a drum and cither are to be seen. On the Chinese relief at Yun-Kang [3]), on the contrary, the Bodhisattva is first alone in a pavilion, then with his arm round a woman, and finally, lying on the ground beside a woman, maybe intended for Gopā, maybe for one of the others.

The text follows with a long passage about the adjuration to the Bodhisattva by the Buddha's of the ten winds, who remind him of his great deeds in former lives, and about a lecture he holds in the women's apartment.

53. *Hrīdeva rouses the Bodhisattva to fulfil his destiny*

> At that time, about when the Bodhisattva should depart, there came a Tuṣitakāyika gods son named Hrīdeva, one who was given to the highest and most perfect Wisdom, in the soundless night, surrounded and followed by thirty two thousand gods sons, to the palace where the Bodhisattva dwelt and spoke out of the air to the Bodhisattva, these verses: "What death is, has been set forth, o radiant one; and what birth is, has been expounded, o lion among men. In giving instruction to the women's apartment, thou hast followed the custom of the world. Many in the world of gods and men have become ripe and have attained the Law. The time is now come; consider well thy resolve to depart." (183 : 16).

The palace of the Bodhisattva on the right of the relief, is surrounded by a palissade, going first round the bottom edge of the relief and then

[1]) T.S.W. pl 65

[2]) A M I. pl 127 or J I A.I pl 12; A G.B. I fig 178 p 350. In the same way the scene is treated anesun-Huang (Stein p 857).

[3]) Chavannes, Mission fig 205 and p. 306

turning upwards, where there appears a gateway. The Bodhisattva sits on a throne in a pavilion, the right leg in the sling; next to him on a cushion three women very much damaged, yet evidently asleep. Outside the pavilion left, and still inside the palissade are three peacocks; above that Hrīdeva hovers on a cloud, making a sĕmbah, with the other heavenly ones. Outside the gate sits the armed guard; some of the soldiers are asleep too and help to shew that it is nighttime. The one nearest to the gate wears his hair like a yakṣa. In the background rises a pĕndâpâ with doves perched on its roof and the foliage of some trees shews above.

54. *The Bodhisattva's three palaces*

> And while the Bodhisattva was thus roused by the gods son, he caused king Çuddhodana to behold this dream in his sleep. He saw the Bodhisattva going away in the dead of night, accompanied by an escort of gods, and afterwards being a wandering monk in a russet garment.
>
> Whereupon he thought: "Without doubt, never must the prince depart (not even) to the pleasure-garden, he must amuse himself here, cheerful in the company of his wives, then he will not depart." Then king Çuddhodana caused three palaces to be built for the prince's pleasure, according to the seasons, summer, rain season, and winter. The one for the summer was only cool, that for the season of rains had the qualities of both the others and the winter one was naturally warm. (185 : 18; 186 : 7).

The three palaces are here, in a row, a brilliant proof of the sculptor's artistic skill in giving variation to what might have been three uniform buildings[1]). The two side ones are open in front and, owing to the inmates taking up most of the space, look rather like a large decorated niche. To the right the Bodhisattva is seated with two wives, his right leg in the sling. On the left we see five women sitting on a bench, one of whom, also with one leg in the sling, is at her toilet assisted by the others. She looks at herself in a mirror held in the left hand while arranging her hair with the right. A large dish with wreaths is under her bench. The middle palace is closed, probably it is the winter-palace. It has a base decorated with rosette ornement, steps up to the door, in front of which stands a vase

[1]) At Pagān three separate scenes are given to the palaces, with the Bodhisattva in each. See Seidenstücker, abb 25—27 and p. 36 and 92 etc

with flowers, latticed windows and a roof decorated with niches and little pinnacles at the corners. Take notice of the outlines of cloud behind the roof of this building; they shew that it is a great mistake to take it for granted, when the same appear elsewhere on other reliefs, that the scene takes place in the heavens.

55. *The Bodhisattva is guarded in his palace*

> On the steps of each palace five hundred men paced continually up and down. And as they stepped up and down, the sound thereof could be heard half a yojana away. Impossible it was for the prince to leave the palace unnoticed. Soothsayers and diviners had declared: "The prince will depart by the Gate of Salvation". Then the king caused great double-doors to be made at the Gate of Salvation; each door opened and closed by five hundred men, the sound of which was carried half a yojana away. There the prince enjoyed the five incomparable kinds of love and the young women were always near him with music, song and dance. (186 : 12).

The same as on No. 53, the palace of the Bodhisattva, on the right, is enclosed within a palissade that runs first along the bottom edge of the relief and then bends upwards, where a gateway is inserted. In a hall of the palace, the upper edge of which is indicated, the Bodhisattva is sitting with a woman also wearing a halo, of course Gopā. Behind them, right, sit three women and left, stand three more, the front one with a fly-whisk. Exactly in front of the gateway, outside the palissade, is a porter armed with a sword, shewing a beard and hair-dressing like a yakṣa (see No. 53). Opposite to him a curious group of sitting and kneeling men ; in front, some with rather high headdress, behind, three in very plain clothes; these three and one other wear swords. We might think they are guards, but they look like people who come from outside and ask for admittance. In the background on the left, is an elephant, its mahout with his angkuça on its back, while nearer the centre three men in fine clothes are standing, one with a large red lotus in his hand; possibly they are gods. It seems to me, something not given in the text is here represented.

56. *First Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees an old man*

> And the Bodhisattva said to his charioteer: "Hasten, charioteer, get ready a chariot, for I will go to the pleasure-garden".

> Then a fourfold guard was formed to do honor to the ladies of the prince's harem. And when the Bodhisattva set out in great splendor through the Eastern gate of the city to the pleasure-garden, by the might of his own power and the action of the Çuddhāvāsakāyika-gods sons there appeared on the road an old man, aged, worn-out, with swollen veins on his body and broken teeth, wrinkled and grey-haired, bent, crooked as a roof, broken, leaning on a stick, feeble, without youth, his throat uttering inarticulate sounds, his body bent and supported by a staff, trembling in all his limbs and parts of limbs. (186 : 21 ; 187 : 17).

The coachman informs the Bodhisattva that this is old age such as awaits all human beings, and afterwards explains the next appearances (relief No. 57—59) in the same way. The Bodhisattva turns round and goes home again.

The old man is quite on the left, in the form of a beggar holding out his hand; he wears nothing but a loin-cloth, leans on a staff and is led by a child, so he is probably meant to be blind as well. The rest of the relief is occupied by the suite of the Bodhisattva, but the ladies of the party are left out altogether. The military escort is there as a number of soldiers armed with swords and small shield, marching in front. Then comes the carriage and pair, an open fourwheeler, rather small, with the Bodhisattva on a seat. Above the horses we can see the head and shoulders of the coachman, making a sĕmbah to his master. After the umbrella-bearer follow some persons in princely robes who may be the Çākya escort of the Bodhisattva, but are more likely the gods who are responsible for the apparition. Here on the ground two or three servants are sitting. Along the upper edge of the whole relief clouds are indicated, to shew that the scene takes place in the open air. In the Indian Buddhist art at Ajaṇṭā[1]) and Pagān, scenes of the Four Encounters are known and the Chinese in the rock-temples of Yun-kang gives this episode as well, and does not refrain from repeating it four times like the sculptors of the Barabuḍur[2]). The design differs from that on our monument; on the left each time is a palace, more like a gateway, out of which the Bodhisattva is coming, on horseback, followed only by an umbrella-bearer,

[1]) According to Foucher, Lettre p 224 (coll Burgess, Notes p 6 and pl 4, Griffiths, Paintings pl. 49). I agree with him (A G.B I p 348) that the relief at Sānchi No. 33 is not to be considered a representation of one of these encounters

[2]) Chavannes, Mission fig. 207—210 and p 307.

while the god who is arranging the apparition, hovers above. Away to the right, the apparition itself is found. At Pagān each time nearly the whole relief is taken up by the Bodhisattva in his carriage, and the apparition is given in small size on the right [1]); at Tun-Huang the first three encounters are condensed into one scene, but the monk and the Bodhisattva himself are absent [2]).

57. *Second Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a sick man*

> And when the Bodhisattva another time set out through the South gate of the city, in great splendor to the pleasure-garden, he saw on the road a man sick of a disease, overcome by hot fever, his body exhausted, soiled by his own excrements, without any to help him, without shelter and breathing with difficulty. (189 : 8).

The style of this scene resembles the preceding one. On the left, under a tree, is the sick man, horribly thin, his belly all sunken, ribs sticking out, the muscles of the neck prominent, and with hollow cheeks; arms, legs and face made to look as diseased and thin as possible without much regard to anatomy. The miserable wretch has his hands crossed over his head and the whole figure is well suited to give the Bodhisattva a nasty shock ; a realistic bit of sculpture. The retinue is arranged in the same way as on the preceding relief ; first the armed escort, then the carriage with the Bodhisattva and the coachman saluting, then the umbrella-bearer and finally the group of gods. By way of variety, the horses turn their heads back. Cloud-outlines along the top of the whole relief.

58. *Third Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a dead man*

> And when the Bodhisattva another time set out through the West gate of the city, in great splendor to the pleasure-garden, he saw a dead man, laid out on a bier under a linen sheet, surrounded by a troop of his relations all weeping, lamenting and wailing, with streaming hair, with ashes on their heads, beating their breasts and crying as they followed him.
>
> The Bodhisattva spoke and said: "If there were no old age, no

[1]) Seidenstucker, abb 30—33 and p 37 etc , 86 and 93 etc

[2]) Stein, Serindia II p 857 and pl LXXIV

disease and no death, neither would there be the great misfortune that has its root in the five skandha's. But wherefore should man always be bound by age, disease and death? Behold, I will return and meditate on the Salvation". (190 : 8; 191 : 1, 6).

From the text we naturally expect to see the corpse being escorted by its funeral train, but on the relief we find it lying in a tent under a tree, nothing better than a few boards with a saddle-shaped covering on sticks. The corpse looks quite as unattractive as the patient in the preceding relief but is not so distinct. Three persons, two of them certainly females, are busy with the dead man, kneeling round him ; one supports his head on her arm, they are all much damaged. The Bodhisattva's soldiers are at the head of his escort again; the carriage is rather larger and has a handsome shaft ornemented with a lion rampant, upon which the coachman sits, his face turned to his master but now without the sĕmbah. Another servant is sitting on the back of the carriage ; the Bodhisattva here and in the next scene wears the halo that is missing on the two preceding reliefs; he is now making a gesture of aversion. The figures of the gods are quite dilapidated, for not much is left of the right hand side of the relief; according to Wilsen's drawing there were two of them, one holding a lotus. The clouds are here, as before.

59. *Fourth Encounter. The Bodhisattva sees a monk*

And when the Bodhisattva set ont another time through the North gate of the city to go to the pleasure-garden, the gods sons, through the might of the Bodhisattva, caused a monk to appear by the roadside. The Bodhisattva saw the monk standing on the road, quiet, tranquil, full of discretion and self-control, not allowing his glance to wander, nor looking further than the length of a yoke, having attained the Path that brings peace of mind and honor, shewing that peace of mind in his forward and his backward steps, peace of mind in the looking and the turning away of his eyes, peace of mind in his bending and his stretching, peace of mind in the wearing of his coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock.

And the Bodhisattva spoke and said: "The life of the wandering monk has always been praised by the wise, therein is salvation for himself and salvation for other beings, the happiness of life, the sweet

draught of immortality and the fruit of existence". (191 : 12; 192 : 8, 10).

The monk is here also quite on the right, on a little rise of ground; his right hand against his chest, the left hanging down. He has no bowl but of course the monk's frock. Some of the soldiers are sitting on the ground; those standing behind point to the monk. The carriage resembles that on the preceding relief and the shaft here too is ornemented with a lion ; there are now two persons sitting on it besides the coachman, i.e. another servant with a torch or an incense-burner ; both look towards the Bodhisattva, behind whom another servant sits on the carriage. The gods, specially mentioned by the text in this scene, again appear on the right hand side of the relief, whose upper edge has no clouds this time, as were given on the three preceding scenes.

60. *The Bodhisattva in the women's apartments. Gopā comforted after an evil dream (?)*

Now king Çuddhodana gave this command in the women's apartment: "Let music never cease; let all kinds of play and amusement be provided simultaneously. Let the women use all their powers of attraction and bewitch the prince so that his spirit is dimmed by pleasure and he will not go away to wander as a monk".

Now while Gopā lay on the same couch with the prince, at night, when the night was half spent, she saw this dream: this whole earth trembled, the mountains with their tops, the trees were ravaged by the wind and fell to the ground torn and uprooted ; and the sun and moon with all their star-ornements fell down from the heavens. She saw her hair cut off by her right hand and her diadem drop to pieces etc.

Then when he heard this, he spoke with the voice of the kalavingka-bird, like that of a kettle drum, the voice of a god, a melodious voice, unto Gopā, saying : "Rejoice ; no evil shall befall thee. Those only dream these dreams whose former existence has been virtuous Be comforted, and have no care ; fear not, but be full of joy. Soon shall joy and happiness be given unto thee. Sleep, Gopā, these tokens are favorable to thee." (192 : 22 ; 194 : 7 ; 195 : 5 ; 196 : 9).

It looks to me rather doubtful if this relief depicts Gopā being comforted by her husband, as the sequence of events in the text requires. The Bodhisattva appears in the middle of a pavilion on a seat with his right leg in the sling ; women are sitting on both sides, the front one of both groups seems to hold a utpala ; possibly on the left it is a fly-whisk. None of the women are in any way distinguished from the others so as to be identified as Gopā, and if the sculptor intended to illustrate the above conversation between husband and wife, he has taken no trouble to make it plain to the looker-on that anything more is intended than just the Bodhisattva among his wives, in the same style as on No. 52 [1]). Next to the pavilion, on both sides, is a partition, made up of boxes, trays and dishes; then, again on both sides in the background, a small building, in front of which a few men are sitting. Among those on the left some are armed, so they may be the ordinary palace-guard; on the right, only the last has a sword and the three others have the high headress of eminent people, so they may be Çākya's or gods who come and take an interest in the proceedings.

61. *The Bodhisattva asks his father's permission to depart*

Then this thought came to the Bodhisattva: "It would not become me and would shew ingratitude, were I to depart without informing king Çuddhodana and without my father's consent". Thereupon in the soundless night he came out of the palace where he dwelt and entered the palace of king Çuddhodana. As soon as the Bodhisattva entered it, that whole palace was filled with radiance.

The king was startled and looking round he saw that lotus-eyed Pure Being ; and he would have risen from his couch, but he could not. And he who had a perfect pure spirit, was full of respect towards his father, he came and stood before the king and spake : "Hinder me no more, and be not sorrowful thereat ; for the hour of my departure, o king, is come. Therefore be content, o prince, thou and thy people and thy realm"

And when he heard these words from the best of men, he endeavoured to turn him from his purpose and fought against his son's

[1]) We might compare this with abb. 34 at Pagān (Seidenstucker p. 39, 82, and 94 etc), which is much better explained as the Bodhisattva in his harem after the four encounters than as the scene it is supposed to illustrate according to the text.

desire. (Yet in the end he spake:) "It is thy desire to bring by redemption salvation to the world; let the aim thou hast set before thee, be achieved". Thereupon the Bodhisattva returned to his palace and lay down on his couch. And no man had knowledge either of his going or return. (198 : 1, 18; 200 : 8).

The king and his son sit in a pĕndåpå in the middle of the scene talking together, both leaning against large cushions, one on a seat, the other only on a dais. In Wilsen's time it seems, the now worn-away halo was visible round the Bodhisattva's head and indeed it would not do to be without it just in the scene that describes the radiance he diffuses. On the right next to the pĕndapa is a door leading to the adjacent palace of the Bodhisattva ; in the righthand corner is a guard with yakṣa style of hair fast asleep. A few birds on and near the roof. To the left of the large pĕndåpa there is a smaller one, under which the king's guard are sitting, partly armed with swords. This group too is asleep. The sculptor shews clearly that it is night and that the Bodhisattva, as the text describes, is not seen by anyone. The design of this episode in the caves of Yun-kang is a little different[1]). Father and son are quite alone; Çuddhodana sits on a raised couch, the Bodhisattva kneels beside him and makes a sĕmbah, evidently just uttering his request.

62. *The Bodhisattva is guarded in his harem*

At the end of this night, king Çuddhodana called together the whole company of Çākya's and told them of the matter: "The prince will depart, what must now be done ?" The Çākya's answered: "We will keep guard over him, o king. For why ? We are a great company of Çākya's, and he is but alone. How shall he be able to force a way to depart ?"

Måhåprajåpati Gautamī spake to the many female slaves: "Light up bright lamps, place all sorts of jewels upon the stands, hang necklaces about and illuminate the whole dwelling. Cause music to sound and keep guard this night, unceasingly; keep watch over the prince so that he cannot depart unseen. Armoured and with quiver in your hand, with swords, bows, arrows, spears and lances, must you all strive your utmost to guard my beloved child". (200 : 15; 201 : 9).

[1]) Chavannes, Mission fig. 206 and p 306 etc

The last sentence is remarkable when compared with the relief. It seems that, even where the text expressly demands it, the sculptor cannot get himself to depict armed women. In Hindustan such figures of female slaves in armour and with weapons, in the retinue of a king are quite common; they are not found anywhere on the Barabuḍur, or on any other Javan monument. The omission of these figures even where the text mentions their presence, can only be explained, I think, by the custom of the country, the sculptor hesitating to represent something quite unusual among the Javanese, the public for whom he was working.

The Bodhisattva sits with the right leg in the sling, on a cushion in the midst of kneeling women in a pavilion, that is quite on the right of the relief. It has a porch on the left, under which two guards armed with swords and large shields are sitting, it is enclosed in a palissade, going along the bottom edge of the relief and then turning upwards. Outside this, quite on the left, sit another group of men on the ground, bearers of the royal insignia and soldiers. According to Pleyte (p. 94) the foremost figure is the king himself, but this person is not to be distinguished from the others by the usual royal dress. I consider it much more likely they are either the retinue of the crownprince, or guards sent by the king and if the latter, they would be the Çākya's mentioned in the text, though their garments are not those of the highest circles. At Pagān can be seen on the relief immediately before the scene of the sleeping women, the Bodhisattva lying on his couch, with the female slaves making music [1]).

63. *The sleeping women*

> Then at that moment the women's apartment was changed in aspect and put in disorder by the gods son Dharmacārin and by the Çuddhāvāsakāyika-gods. When they had changed it and given it a loathsome appearance, they spoke from out the air to theBodhisattva in verses. Thus spake the gods sons, the high and mighty ones, to him with his long-shaped eyes like budding lotuses: "How canst thou find pleasure herein? Thou dwellest in the midst of a graveyard!" Urged by the divine rulers he looks for a moment at the company of women; he gazes and the sight moves him to loathing: "I do in truth live in the midst of a graveyard". And the Bodhisattva

[1]) Seidenstücker, abb. 37 and p. 40 and 95.

looked round upon the whole gathering of women and gazing at them, really *saw* them. Some with their garments torn away, others with dishevelled hair, some whose ornements were all fallen off, others with broken diadems ; some whose shoulders were bruised and others with naked limbs, and mouths awry and squinting eyes and some slobbering, etc. etc.

And meditating on the idea of purity, and penetrating the idea of impurity, he saw that from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, the body originates in impurity, is compounded of impurity and exhales impurity without end. At this time he spoke this verse: "O hell of living beings, with many entrances ; dwelling-place of death and age, what wise man, having looked thereon, would not consider his own body to be his enemy?" (205 : 17 ; 208 : 10, 21).

A large pavilion with pĕndâpâ adjoining, represents the women's apartment. The Bodhisattva sits in the middle leaning on a cushion on his couch ; the sleeping women are lying or leaning against it on both sides all in confusion. The sculptor has succeeded in giving a vivid impression of the unattractive appearance of this company of females in the most unbecoming attitudes, without degenerating into a rather indecent exhibition ; on this point Barabuḍur is as respectable as the Gandhāra-reliefs [1]). This whole portion is enclosed by a palissade in the usual manner. On the left, outside the fence is another small pĕndâpâ in which the guards are seated who, like the women, are all asleep.

Here too it is remarkable how the sculptor, faithful in the main, pays little attention to details. The following is an instance; the text (p. 206) says that the instruments of music had dropped out of the women's hands. On the Gandhāra-reliefs, these are to be seen lying on the floor as described. The Barabuḍur sculptor takes no notice of this detail ; he depicts the Bodhisattva awake among the more or less indecorous crowd of sleeping females. This is of course the main thing the text describes ; and he does not mind about the rest.

Besides the musical instruments, dropped or still in the hand, and the presence of one or two female slaves armed with lances, the Gandhāra-reliefs differ again from the Barabuḍur by not forgetting to put in Gopā ; in one case [2]) the sculptor considers it sufficient to represent her

[1]) Besides the two quoted on p. 157, A B G I fig. 179 p. 351, II fig. 447 p. 297

[2]) A G B fig. 180 p. 353

all by herself and leave out all the other women[1]). In the matter of Gopā and the music-instruments, Yun-kang[2]) agrees with Gandhāra. The artist of Barabuḍur by leaving out Gōpa, keeps faithfully to the Lalita-vistara that describes the sleeping harem and makes no mention of the prince's chief spouse. At Pagān Gopā is not there either[3]).

64. *The Bodhisattva's horse is brought to him*

Now the Bodhisattva whose mind was made up, much moved, yet firm of purpose, rose quickly, without hesitating, from his cross-legged position and turning to the East in his music apartment, pushed aside with his right hand the curtains set with jewels and stepped on to the terrace of the palace When he saw that midnight had come, he roused Chandaka and said: "Quick, Chandaka, delay not, bring me my prince of horses decked with all his ornements. My salvation is about to be fulfilled; this day will it surely be accomplished". When Chandaka heard these words, he was heavy of heart and said: "Where wilt thou go", etc.

Thereupon, the gods sons Çāntamati and Lalitavyūha, aware of the Bodhisattva's intention, caused all the women and men, youths and maidens in the great city of Kapilavastu, to fall into deep sleep, and they silenced all sounds. When the Bodhisattva became aware that all people in the city were asleep and the hour of midnight was come, and that Puṣya had risen to be lord of the constellation and that now the hour of departure had arrived, he spoke to Chandaka: "Discourage me now no more, Chandaka; bring me Kaṇṭhaka caparisoned without further delay". As soon as the Bodhisattva spoke these words, that same moment the four Guardians of the world who heard the words of the Bodhisattva, hastened each to his dwelling and returned with his own preparations to honor the Bodhisattva, as soon as possible to the great city of Kapilavastu.

[1]) On the contrary a scene at Tun-Huang (Stein p. 368) gives only four sleeping women, musicians and dancers, in the palace-court below, when in the air the Bodhisattva is already escaping on his horse.

[2]) Chavannes, Mission fig 211 and pag 307

[3]) Seidenstucker, abb 38 and p 41 and 95

Also Çakra, the king of the gods, came with the three and thirty gods, with heavenly flowers, and perfumes, garlands, ointments powders, garments, umbrellas, banners, streamers, diadems and ornements.

A thousand koṭi's of gods spoke joyful of heart unto Chandaka : "Come, Chandaka, bring out the splendid Kaṇṭhaka, grieve not the Leader". When Chandaka heard these words of the gods, he said to Kaṇṭhaka : "Here comes the best driver of all beings, neigh thou to him !" And when he had ornemented the rain-colored hoofs with gold, weeping and sad of heart, he led the horse to that Ocean of merit. (209 : 11 ; 210 : 2 ; 217 : 5 ; 218 : 15 ; 221 : 7, 15).

The Bodhisattva is depicted standing on a lotus-cushion, outside the palace railings. This palace is quite to the right ; in front sit the sleeping guard and a couple of large pots with lids stand on the left. The whole is enclosed in a palissade with a gateway inserted in it ; at the side of the palissade is the Bodhisattva, stretching out his hand to Chandaka who kneels before him making a sĕmbah. Behind the coachman is the horse, with a tree in the background, its haunches are hidden by the group of gods standing quite on the left of the relief. The whole design is such that in my opinion it does not allow the scene to be titled as the command given to Chandaka to saddle the horse (Pleyte p. 97), as in the Lalitavistara the order was given while the Bodhisattva was still on the terrace of his palace. Here he has already come down and it is evident that the horse could not be brought up on to the terrace so that if the animal was to appear on the relief, that was reason enough to place the scene out-of-doors. The conception of the Barabuḍur sculptor is, at any rate, far more rational than that of the Gandhāra-relief just mentioned, on which the horse is brought inside the room where Gopā is asleep. What the Barabuḍur relief illustrates is, I think, the moment when Chandaka yields to the persuasion of the gods and brings the horse to his master, the moment that is immediately before the Great Departure in the following relief. It is noticeable that at Pagān two separate reliefs appear, the first shews the orders given to Chandaka (where the horse is already present), the second the moment the animal is going to be mounted; in the first, the scene is in a palace, while the second is given out-of-doors [1]).

[1]) Seidenstucker, abb 39 and 41 and p 41 etc and 95 etc

65. *The Great Departure*

> And the four Great Kings, after entering the royal palace Aḍakavatī, spoke to the great assemblage of yakṣa's: "To-day, o worthy ones, shall the Bodhisattva make his departure, this he must do while the feet of his excellent horse are held fast by you".
>
> All the earth trembled in six kinds of ways, when risen from his couch, he mounted that excellent king of horses, resembling the circle of the full moon. The Guardians of the world placed their hands, stainless as the pure lily, beneath the excellent horse. Çakra and Brahmā went before, both shewing the way. A pure immaculate radiance shone out from him and the earth was illuminated; all those beings doomed to destruction, gained rest and happiness and were no longer subject to the torments of the kleça's. Flowers were strewn and thousands of musical instruments sounded, gods and asura's praised him. After making the circuit of the excellent city, keeping their right side towards it, they proceeded, all filled with joy.
>
> When this Bodhisattva, lord of the world, departed, the apsaras glorified him as he passed through the air: "Behold he must be highly honored, he who is the great field of virtue, the field of those who strive after virtue, the giver of the fruit of immortality". (202 : 13 ; 222 : 1 ; 223 : 7).

In the procession of the Bodhisattva's Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa through the air, two figures of gods are in front, one carrying an umbrella, while flowers fall upon him from above. These are most likely Çakra and Brahmā showing the way. Then comes the Bodhisattva himself squatting on his horse whose hoofs are put two and two on lotus-cushions supported by three floating figures, the first one in any case a yakṣa to judge by his hairdressing. It is yakṣa's who, according to the first passage of the text quoted above — a passage that appears a good bit earlier in the text than the description of the journey — support the hoofs of Kaṇṭhaka. It appears that the Lalitavistara here contradicts itself; not only in the two passages quoted, but also later on when Chandaka tells the tale of the journey, he mentions twice that it was the four Guardians of the world who did this service (233 : 14 and 236 : 14). Chandaka follows his master with the sword under his arm as on the preceding relief, he has hold of the horse's tail. Then comes the company of gods,

in two rows one above the other, some with fly-whisks and flowers in their hand. Though not very easily distinguished, several persons below on the right, seem to be women, therefore apsaras; the clouds sketched under this last group and quite to the left, indicate that the procession is moving through the air. Take notice of the tree on the right growing on a rise with the rays of light coming from its side towards the Bodhisattva; a means of shewing the radiance, the text speaks of, which he spreads over the earth.

Comparison with other representations of the Great Departure is specially noticeable for what Barabuḍur does not depict of details to be found elsewhere. The figure armed with a bow, to be seen on the Gandhāra-reliefs, who is most probably Māra, is not here, but then at this moment he is not playing any part in the Lalitavistara. And we can look in vain for the godess of the city of Kapilavastu who appears elsewhere and who, the text says, brought a farewell greeting to the Bodhisattva (222 : 9 etc.). I will here mention also that his companion Vajrapāṇi who is of such importance on the Gandhāra-reliefs and makes his first appearance at the departure without leaving the Bodhisattva after that, is quite unknown on the Barabuḍur.

The representation at Sānchi [1]) which of course may not depict the Bodhisattva himself, shews a riderless horse coming out of a town, that in spite of it being night and the inhabitants asleep, seems to be crowded with interested spectators. Chandaka holds an umbrella over his invisible master; four gods hold the hoofs of the horse and others accompany the procession. On another relief at Amarāvatī [2]) we see the horse alone with the umbrella coming out of the gate, with two gods in front and two in the air. The umbrella in this kind of scene has more significance than elsewhere as indicating the presence of a person worthy to be honored, but it also asserts itself on the scenes where the Bodhisattva himself is depicted, in spite of there being no practical use for it at that time of night. It is usually yakṣa's, not gods, who support the horse in Gandhāra [3]), — we need not notice the instances where they are replaced by one or two women [4]) — also at Amarāvatī [5]) and Tun-Huang [6]); the

[1]) Foucher, La porte orientale du stûpa de Sânchi (1910) pl 7. See also Bharhut pl 20

[2]) T S W pl 98, cf 96

[3]) A M I pl 80, 129, 130, A G B I fig. 180, p 353; 181 p 355; 182 p 357; 183 p 359; 184 p 361; 187 p 366, II fig 404 p 201, J I.A I pl 19 and 22.

[4]) See A.G B I p 358—360

[5]) T S W pl 49 or 59, Burgess fig 22 on p 60, also Burgess pl 16, 32, 38, 40, 41; A G B. II fig. 506 p 563

[6]) Stein p. 658, where other representations are compared See also p. 70

escort of gods is always present, but there are nowhere two flying in front that should be Çakra and Brahmā. Chinese art at Yun-Kang[1]) gives Çakra holding the umbrella ; and the Bodhisattva is alone except for the horse-supporters. At Pagān there are two figures with torches flying in front, as well as the gods in the air and at the feet of the horse, Chandaka too holding on by the tail[2]).

66. *The Bodhisattva takes leave of his escort of gods*

> When the Bodhisattva departed he went through the land of the Çākya's, the Krodya's and the Malla's, and was in Anuvaineya in the land of Maineya six yojana's away, at day break. Then the Bodhisattva dismounted off Kaṇṭhaka and standing on the ground he took leave of that great company of gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's and mahoraga's. (225 : 5).

The Bodhisattva is still in royal robes, but already stands on the lotus cushion that appeared for the first time on No. 64, when he had taken his decision and will support the feet of the future Buddha from now on ; he is turning to the group of standing gods that fills the whole of the right side of the relief. The three figures furthest to the right are yakṣa's with wild hair and moustache, the other demi-gods mentioned in the text are not given. Next to the Bodhisattva a figure kneels with an umbrella and a second with a sword. Perhaps these are Çakra and Brahmā, one of whom carried the umbrella on the preceding relief, while the other has the same headdress on both reliefs ; or to be more careful: they are probably the two advance figures of the procession (maybe Çakra and Brahmā, maybe not). The man with the sword might be Chandaka who would then be depicted twice: on the left as well, separated from this group by a tree, he is sadly leading off the horse while the faithful beast turns its head round to its master[3]). As Pleyte correctly remarks (p. 99), it gives the impression as if the sculptor here intended to illustrate the parting from horse and groom — so that we are rather surprised to meet them both again on the next relief.

[1]) Chavannes, Mission fig 212 and p 307 etc

[2]) Seidenstucker, abb 42 and p 42 and 96

[3]) On two of the Gandhāra-reliefs (A G.B. I fig 184 and 185 p. 361 etc) Kaṇṭhaka licks his master's feet (compare Buddhacarita VI, 53), and the same is adopted by the Serindian and old-Chinese art See Stein p. 858 and pl. LXXV (Tun-Huang), and Chavannes fig 220 p. 304 (Yun-kang) and fig. 1738 with p 556.

67. *The Bodhisattva takes leave of Chandaka and Kaṇṭhaka, and cuts off his hair*

> After these were dismissed, he thought to himself: "These ornements and Kaṇṭhaka I will put into the hands of Chandaka and send them back". Then the Bodhisattva turned towards Chandaka and spoke: "Go, Chandaka, return with these ornements and with Kaṇṭhaka".
>
> Then again the Bodhisattva thought this thought: "How can the wearing of long hair be combined with the life of a wandering monk?" And after cutting off his hair with his sword, he threw it into the air. It was gathered up by the three and thirty gods to do it honor and until this day the feast of the locks of hair is kept by the three and thirty gods. (225 : 9, 15).

On both sides of the relief the style of the landscape is shewn by the conventional rocky scene with trees and plants. The Bodhisattva stands in the middle wearing only a loincloth and sacred thread, he is cutting off his hair with a sword. On the right is Chandaka, who holds in his right hand the headdress just received from the Bodhisattva and in his left the sheath of the sword. Kaṇṭhaka stands just behind him; here, the animal has no saddle on, as it had on the preceding relief, and neither bit or bridle: another instance of the sculptor's indifference to detail. On the other side of the Bodhisattva are some figures of gods, two kneeling, the first of whom revently holds up a dish of flowers; the large elephant ears of the figure behind him in sĕmbah, make it clear that this must be Çakra's servant Airāvata, and the one with the flowers will be Çakra himself; Airāvata's headdress has been knocked off. Behind these two stand three other gods, two of whom make a sĕmbah. Up above, on a cloud, on each side of the Bodhisattva, is a heavenly being; the left one holds a ribbon, probably the hair ribbon, the one on the right has a dish with the coiled-up mass of hair; this seems rather premature for the owner thereof is still busy cutting it off. In the note on p. 74, I mentioned a couple of Gandhāra-reliefs on which the parting from Chandaka is shewn; there too he receives his master's tiara with the other ornements. This is worth noticing because, in the old-Indian art, the gods are seen carrying away the tiara with the hair coiled up inside it; representations of the adoration of it frequently appear [1]) and the dismissal of Chandaka so as

[1]) Bharhut pl 15, Sāñchi T S W pl 30; Amarāvatī T S W pl. 59

depicted at Sānchi [1]) agrees with it ; here we first see the kneeling servant and the horse, opposite the large footprints that take the place of the Master, and Chandaka has nothing in his hand, while below, where he is going home, he takes garments and ornements with him, but not the tiara. The Gandhāra art is inconsistent, for sometimes it depicts the tiara being honored by the gods [2]) and at other times puts the tiara into Chandaka's hands. Barabudur's idea is better, Chandaka gets the tiara and the gods only carry off the hair. Here the sculptor has broken away from the tradition of the adoration of the tiara. The art of Campā also sends away the horse and tiara together [3]). The cutting off of only the hair, has also been found on a relief at Sarnāth [4]) as well as in Turkestan [5]). Haircutting and leave-taking are treated in the same way as two separate scenes at Ajaṇṭā [6]) and Tun-Huang [7]). At Pagān no less than eight reliefs are devoted to the events immediately following the Great Departure up to and including the parting from Chandaka [8]). Even at the offering of the monks dress he is still to be found.

68. *The Bodhisattva receives the russet monks frock*

And again the Bodhisattva thought : "What has the life of a wandering monk to do with kāçika-clothing ? It would be well that I got russet garments suitable to wear in the forest". Thereupon the thought came to the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods : "The Bodhisattva is in need of russet garments." Then one of the gods sons put off his divine form and stood, in the shape of a hunter in russet dress, before the Bodhisattva. Then said the Bodhisattva unto him : "If thou, worthy man, givest me thy russet dress, I will give thee these kāçika-garments". He answered : "Those garments suit you and these suit me". The Bodhisattva said : "I implore thee." Then the gods son in hunter's dress gave the russet clothes to the

[1]) Foucher, Porte or pl 7.
[2]) For instance A.G.B I fig 186 p. 365.
[3]) Dong Duong ; see A G B II fig. 522 p. 603.
[4]) A M I. pl 67
[5]) See A.G B I p 364
[6]) Foucher, Lettre p 224.
[7]) Stein p. 358 and pl. LXXV. Two divine attendants are about to perform the hair-cutting.
[8]) Seidenstucker, abb. 43—50 and p 42—44 and 96—98 The handing over of the ornements is on 46, the haircutting on 47, the offering of the monk's dress etc on 49, the actual parting on 50

Bodhisattva and received the kāçika-robes. And the gods son respectfully, with both hands, placed the garments upon his head and departed to the world of gods to adore them. Now this was seen by Chandaka. (225 : 20).

The sculptor has taken no notice of the last statement. On one of the Gandhāra-reliefs we can see Chandaka present at the exchange of clothes [1]). He is not given a place on this Barabuḍur scene, nor do we find further on, any trace of the lengthy episode, related in the text, of his return to Çuddhodana's court (p. 229—237). It is just possible that the words "Now this was seen by Chandaka", may have been added later to the text [2]) and we might suppose that this addition did not appear in the text used for the Barabuḍur reliefs. However this conclusion is not necessary, for the sculptor makes free too with another detail in the exchange of clothing ; the text speaks expressly of a gods son in the shape of a hunter and the Gandhāra-relief actually lays some game at his feet, while at Barabuḍur the artist has not taken the trouble to disguise him and he hands over the garment in his ordinary divine costume.

The righthand side of the relief is taken up by scenery ; rocks and trees, animated with a pair of birds and a den in which two tigers lie asleep. On the left of them stands the Bodhisattva, rather dilapidated and headless ; he is of course in his undergarments, just receiving the monk's frock from the hands of the god's son who stands opposite to him, separated by a large incense-stand. Behind him kneels another god with some object that is broken off, on Wilsen's drawing a flower ; behind stands a third with a bowl of flowers and then comes a whole group seated, many of them with gifts of honor in the hand, up to the edge of the relief, and a tree or two in the background. As seen above, the text makes no mention of all this godly company.

69. *The gods express their approval*

When the Bodhisattva had cut off his hair and put on the russet garment, at the same moment hundreds of thousands of the gods sons, delighted, satisfied, gay and cheerful, with the greatest happines, joy and transport, gave utterance to their rapture with all

[1]) A.G B I fig. 187 p. 366; J I A I. pl. 22
[2]) Foucher, I.l. p. 367.

kinds of sounds and melody: "Behold friends, prince Siddhārtha has become a wanderer. He will attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom, and set the wheel of the Law in motion". (226 : 14).

A rocky landscape with trees, on both sides of the relief; on the left, are two hares sitting on the rock, on the right several gazelles, while in a cavelike hollow in the ground are placed two round pots with lids, possibly for the use of the Bodhisattva, who stands next on his lotus-cushion. This is the first time we see him in the appearance he will retain for the rest of the series of reliefs: in the monk's frock and the hair dressed in small curls following at the top of the head the from of the uṣṇīṣa. He is rather damaged, as also the incense-stand that is next to him. The remaining space is occupied by the adoring gods, kneeling, sitting and standing, many with their hands in sĕmbah. We may notice that the words of the text give no idea that the expressions of joy by the gods over these events, had the character of an adoration of the Bodhisattva as depicted here by the sculptor.

70. *The Bodhisattva at the hermitage of a brāhmaṇī*

And when the Bodhisattva had thus given his kāçika robes to the gods son in hunter's dress and received from him his russet garment, he made himself a wandering monk, for the sake of the world, in pity for its living beings and to achieve their ripening.

The Bodhisattva then went to the place where was the hermitage of the brāhmaṇī Çāki, who asked him to stay and partake of food. He then went to the hermitage of the brāhmaṇī Padmā; and there also he was asked to stay and take food. (238 : 1).

It is not possible to make out which of these visits may be here depicted. The dwellers of the hermitage sit under a group of trees; on the rocks to the left is a water-jug. They wear their hair done in a plait, held together by a band round the forehead, the same as their masculine colleagues, with necklace, bracelet and a cloth fastened round the waist by a plain belt. They also have a brahman thread and some of them hold a rosary as well. On the right stands the head of the hermitage with a dish of food and an incense burner on the ground in front of her, opposite to the Bodhisattva who approaches, with his right hand raised towards her, holding his garment with the left. There is still room on the right for a tree and a deformed sort of animal sitting on the rocky ground,

it looks like a calf with ears too long, and might be a hind or perhaps after all, a hare.

71. *The Bodhisattva comes to Raivata or Ārāḍa Kālāpa*

> After that he came to the hermitage of the brahmarṣi Raivata, and he also gave the same invitation to the Bodhisattva.
>
> Thus the Bodhisattva came gradually to the great kingdom Vaiçālī. Now at that time Ārāḍa Kālāpa had fixed his dwelling in Vaiçālī and lived there with a great company of çrāvaka's, three hundred scholars. And he taught them a creed that enjoins poverty and the subjugation of the senses. When he saw the Bodhisattva from afar, full of wonder he said to his disciples: "Behold! see the noble appearance of that man"! And they said: "Truly we see it. It is very marvellous". Thereupon I went [1]) to the place where Ārāḍa Kālāpa was and spoke thus to him: "I seek to become a brahman-scholar of Ārāḍa Kālāpa". He answered: "Do so, Gautama, according to that teaching of the law by which a devout son of good family may acquire the knowledge with little trouble". (238 : 9, 14).

It is not possible to make out if this relief is the visit to Raivata or the arrival at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's hermitage, it might do for either. In favor of the former, it may be said that in design this relief very much resembles the one preceding, described in the same manner in the text and besides that the scenery here differs from that in the following which we can certainly be sure takes place at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's. In the second case we can plead that such variations of scenery are not at all uncommon with the Barabuḍur sculptors, who are careless about details, while on the contrary the *arrival* at Ārāḍa Kālāpa's is treated with some importance in the text and its representation here seems more appropriate than the casually-mentioned visit to Raivata's establishment. A Gandhāra-relief probably also depicts the arrival [2]); the ascetic is sitting before his cell as the Bodhisattva advances with Vajrapāṇi. On Barabuḍur the Bodhisattva is coming from the right holding a tip of his garment in the left hand; as on the preceding relief he appears out of a rocky landscape with trees and a den with two wild animals, apparently apes. In front of him, with an incense-burner on the ground

[1]) The tale here slips suddenly into the 1st person.

[2]) A.G.B. I fig. 191 and p. 377 etc.

between them, stands the head of the hermitage, welcoming the visitor with a lotus in his left hand. Behind them under the trees are some scholars. The front one holds out a water jug towards the visitor; a second jug can be seen on the left on the rocks that are on the same side. The costume worn is the usual one; hair done up in plaits, necklace and loin-cloth. One of them has a rosary.

72. *The Bodhisattva with Ārāda Kālāpa*

> Alone and quiet, living in penance and solitude, I pondered over this doctrine with little trouble and acquired insight therein. Then I went to the place where Ārāḍa Kālāpa was and said: "Hast thou till thus far, Ārāḍa, pondered over this doctrine and acquired insight therein?" And he said: "That is so, Gautama." Then said I unto him: "I also have pondered over this doctrine and acquired insight therein". He spoke and said: "Then, o Gautama, thou knowest the doctrine that I know, and I know that which thou knowest. Let us then together instruct this company of scholars". Thus Ārāḍa Kālāpa honored me with the highest honor, placing me in the midst of his scholars for a common purpose. (239 : 4).

In agreement with this last sentence, the Bodhisattva is sitting on a seat of honor, a round bench on feet with his lotus cushion on top, so that he sits higher than the others; to judge by his right hand held in vitarka-mudrā he is busy lecturing. The Bodhisattva is put quite on the right between two trees; next to him on the left is Ārāḍa Kālāpa on a stone, turning towards him, he sits higher than the pupils but not as high as the Bodhisattva. The scholars fill up the rest of the relief to the left; they are not sitting under trees as they do in the preceding scene, but against a background of rocks, with trees, among which each is set in a small niche [1]). They wear the same dress as those on the last relief and have rosaries; the one furthest to the left is turning away. Also at Pagān the Bodhisattva's stay with Ārāḍa Kālāpa is to be seen; there it follows after the visit to Rājagṛha [2]).

As Ārāḍa's doctrine does not entirely satisfy the Bodhisattva, he moves on, first to Magadha and then to Rājagṛha where he settles on the slopes of the Pāṇḍava mountain.

[1]) A similar scene from the paintings of Ming-Oi (Kara Shahr) is to be found in Stein, Serindia pl. CXXV.

[2]) Seidenstücker, abb. 56 and p 46 and 99. Both are busy talking, while three scholars are present.

73. *The Bodhisattva at Rājagṛha*

Then one morning, having clothed myself, I entered with begging-bowl and monk's frock through the Tapoda-gate into the great city of Rājagṛha, to beg, with peace of mind in my forward steps and in my backward steps, in my looks, in the bending and stretching of my body; with peace of mind in the wearing of my coat, begging-bowl and monk's frock, not allowing my senses to become excited, or my mind to contemplate exterior things, as an automaton, as he who carries a cask of oil, seeing no further than the lenght of a yoke. When the dwellers in Rājagṛha saw me, they marvelled.

People ceased buying and selling, the drunkards no longer drank strong drink, and people amused themselves nomore in their houses, or in the streets, but gazed only on the person of the most perfect of men. One man came quickly to the palace and spoke joyfully to king Bimbisāra: "O king, behold the greatest of favors hath fallen to thee, Brahmā himself walks here in the town to beg". And others said, etc. While others again said thus: "This is he who lives on Pāṇḍava, the king of mountains". On hearing these words the king standing before a round window in the highest cheerfulness of mind, saw the most perfect of men, the Bodhisattva, shining in his radiance as the purest gold. King Bimbisāra gave alms and said to this man: "Look where he goes". And seeing that he went towards the excellent mountain he spoke thus: "King, he has gone to the mountain-slope". (240 : 1, 19; 241 : 4).

The Bodhisattva is coming again from the right, still holding the tip of his garment with the left hand; he has no begging-bowl, as mentioned in the text, but stretches out his empty right hand towards a woman kneeling before him with hands on the ground. On his other side sit three of the citizens looking on, and above on a cloud are two heavenly ones, who bring their homage. In our text, we hear nothing about them or about the incident with the woman, so that on this relief possibly some other version of the tale has been followed. On the left side of the relief we see a palace and between that and the kneeling woman, a group that is quite clear but does not coincide with the text. Foremost, on the right, is the king in royal

robes and with a globular gift, probably the bowl just filled with food, in his hands, which he evidently comes to offer to the Bodhisattva. Next to him stands the queen, behind them sits the suite, some kneeling; they carry the wellknown royal insignia. Thus while the text describes the king looking through his "oeil de boeuf" at the monk who is in the street, sending him a gift — that the "give" really means "sent" is seen by the context — and then ordering the monk to be followed (which would not be necessary if he had spoken to him himself), the sculptor of Barabuḍur brings the king in direct contact with the Bodhisattva. Possibly this is the result of a deviating text. At Ajaṇṭā in agreement with the text, the Bodhisattva is begging in the market-place opposite the palace and the king is not present [1]), at Pagān the Bodhisattva is standing between two almsgivers [2]).

74. *King Bimbisāra visits the Bodhisattva*

> Now when king Bimbisāra saw that the night was past, he went, with a great concourse of people, to the foot of the king of mountains Pāṇḍava and saw that mountain shining with radiance. After dismounting and proceeding on foot over the ground, he gazed with the greatest respect on the Bodhisattva who, after spreading grass on the ground, had seated himself with legs crossed, immovable as the Meru. After saluting the feet of the Bodhisattva with his head, and having discoursed of several matters, the king spake: "I will give thee the half of my whole kingdom; disport thyself here with the various kinds of things desirable and cease from begging". And the Bodhisattva answered him with a gentle voice: "O king, may thou live long and rule thy kingdom! As for me I have departed from a desirable kingdom and putting aside all thought thereof am become a wandering monk in order to find peace". (241 : 9).

The whole left side of the relief is taken up by the rocky landscape with the Bodhisattva. On the left are the rocks with trees growing on them that give shelter to a variety of animals; a cockatoo, a peacock, a pair of doves billing, and some squirrels playing in the branches; then a tiger or jackal in a den and a couple of deer on the ground. On the right of all these, a sort of niche has been made in which the Bodhisattva sits with a waterjug on one side of him and an incense-burner on the

[1]) Foucher, Lettre p 224, Griffiths, Paintings pl. 50.
[2]) Seidenstucker, abb. 53 and p. 45 and 98

other ; he is sitting not on grass but on a lotus cushion on a mat, with an ordinary cushion at his back, in conversation with king Bimbisāra on his right, who makes a sĕmbah. The king with one servant is on a piece of rock, his other followers are sitting under the trees on the right-hand of the relief, the umbrella-bearer is of course among them. This same episode is also found at Ajaṇṭā [1]) combined with the preceding one, and is probably the subject of a Gandhāra-relief [2]) where the Bodhisattva sits under a tree with a king kneeling before him, who also has a group of followers with him. At Pagān we see him first alone, partaking of his food and again in conversation with Bimbisāra [3]).

75. *The Bodhisattva with Rudraka*

> At that time Rudraka, the son of Rāma, had set himself in the great city of Rājagṛha and dwelt there with a large company of scholars, seven hundred in number. He gave them instruction in a doctrine that taught of the not conscious and yet not unconscious by the suppression of the senses. The Bodhisattva saw this Rudraka, son of Rāma, the leader of the community, the teacher of many, well-known, celebrated, honored by many people, valued by learned men
>
> Thus spake the Bodhisattva to Rudraka, son of Rāma: "I too, my friend, have meditated on this doctrine that thou hast attained". And he said: "Come let us instruct this company together". Then with a common purpose he placed the Bodhisattva at the teacher's place. The Bodhisattva said: "This path leadeth not to aversion [4]), neither to freedom from passion, nor to prevention [5]), nor to peace, nor to knowledge, or wisdom, neither to the state of çramaṇa or brahman nor to nirvāṇa". (243 : 15 ; 245 : 8).

Mountain scenery in the same style as the last relief decorates the right hand of this picture ; rocks and trees with birds and squirrels, a lizard, a den with two tigers and a hollow with a couple of deer. On the left of the rocky part sits the Bodhisattva, again on his lotus cushion,

[1]) See note 1 on p. 180
[2]) A G B I fig 188 p 373
[3]) Seidenstucker, abb 54 and 55 and p 45 etc and 96 etc.
[4]) From worldly things
[5]) Of reincarnation.

with a mat under it, but not otherwise raised above the ground ; he is talking to the front one of four persons dressed as hermits who fill the left part of the scene alternately with trees growing on the rocks. The first man is certainly Rudraka. The one furthest to the left has a water-jug and a covered pot beside him ; in the left hand bottom corner again a hollow with a deer. The visit to Rudraka is also given at Pagān[1]), as well as the instruction of the five first scholars corresponding with relief no. 76.[2]).

76. *The Bodhisattva with his first disciples on the Gayā-mountain*

At that time, the five men of the blessed company[3]) were brahman scholars with Rudraka, son of Rāma. They bethought themselves of this : "That which we give ourselves so much time and trouble to attain, what we strive without end or pause to discover, even that hath the çramaṇa Gautama with small effort pondered over and acquired. Yet this did not satisfy him, therefore he sought higher things ; without doubt he will become the teacher of the world. The knowledge he acquires for himself, he will surely share with us." After consulting together, the five men of the blessed company, went away from Rudraka, the son of Rāma, and attached themselves to the Bodhisattva. Now when he had dwelt in Rājagrha so long as he thought well, he set out for Magadha with the five of the blessed company.

When the Bodhisattva journeyed through Magadha, he went towards that part of the land where Gayā is and arrived there. There dwelt the Bodhisattva in order to meditate on the Gayāçīrṣa mountain. (245 : 16 ; 246 : 6).

The Bodhisattva sits in a niche among the rocks, on the left, on his lotus cushion in the dhyāna-mudrā attitude ; he is occupied as the next passage of the text tells us, in meditation on three resemblances. There are trees round the niche, with peacocks and other birds. The mountain scenery stretches further to the right ; on the upper part of the relief are rocks with trees and doves perched in them while squirrels

[1]) Seidenstucker, abb 57 and p 46 and 99 The representation is the same as that of the dispute with Araḍa Kālāpa.

[2]) Ibid. abb 58 In design the reliefs at Pagān differ entirely from those at Barabuḍur.

[3]) In this interpretation of *bhadravargīyāh* I follow Foucher, A.G.B I p. 380.

and armadillo's run about; below, the five are seated, in ordinary ascetic costume. It is plainly to be seen here as well as on the adjacent reliefs that the sling is not omitted in spite of all the scarcity of clothing. On the right, a river runs between the rocks and trees, with some fish swimming in it.

77. *The Bodhisattva by the Nairañjanā*

> And when the Bodhisattva had dwelt at Gayā upon the Gayā-çīrṣa mountain as long as he thought fit, he went forth walking in the direction of Uruvilvā, a village where a captain of soldiers had his post, and arrived there. There he saw the river of Nairañjanā, with clear water, good landing-places, beautified with fine trees and thickets and set on all sides with meadows and villages. Then the mind of the Bodhisattva was greatly pleased: "Behold, fair is this land, pleasant and suitable to dwell in; it is most fitting for a man of good family, who desires to meditate; and as I do so, here will I remain"
>
> And when the Bodhisattva had considered this, he undertook for six years a heavy penance most difficult of the difficult and hard to exercise. (248 : 6; 250 : 9).

We shall not dilate on the account of the Bodhisattva's penance here and later on, for the sculptor, mindful of the fundamental rule to avoid all painful scenes, sees fit to omit shewing us the Bodhisattva with the emaciation of his superhuman privations upon him. He does look slightly thinner on the next relief but not much, and only by chance, for on No. 79 and 80, also in the years of privation, he has recovered his usual contour. We have therefore no chance of comparison with the remarkable images of the emaciated Gautama during those six years that are found in the Gandhāra art [1]).

This relief somewhat resembles the last one; the Bodhisattva on the left, a river on the right, the five in the middle. The scene is no longer a rocky landscape, but the peaceful region of the river banks shaded by trees. Rocks come into sight only here and there, especially on the left where the Bodhisattva is sitting, not now on a lotus cushion, only an

[1]) A G B I fig 192, 193, 200; II fig 439, p 296; fig 440 p 273, Journ As 8 : 15 (1890) pl 2; Spooner, Handbook to the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (1910) pl opposite pag 67 The sculptors of Pagān have also no objection to such kind of portrait; see below No 80 For Serindia (Tun-Huang) see Stein II p 859 and pl LXXV and LXXVII.

ordinary mat. He is talking to the front one of the five towards whom he makes a gesture with the right hand. The two front ones of the five wear their hair on this relief done up very high with a flower at the top. Beside the one most to the right, stands a peculiar jug, much more like a Greek lekuthos than a Javan gĕndi. The river is wellsupplied with fish ; on the opposite bank we see trees and birds.

78. *Māyā, as godess, visits the Bodhisattva*

> And when they saw the condition of the Bodhisattva [1]), some of the gods spake thus: "Alas, prince Siddhārtha is surely dead".
>
> Then these gods sons betook themselves to the three and thirty gods and told Māyādevī thereof: "The prince is dead". Then Māyādevī accompanied by a following of apsaras came at the hour of midnight to the place, on the banks of the Nairañjanā, where the Bodhisattva was and saw him with his body all withered away. And when she saw that he was like dead, she began to weep so that her tears choked her.
>
> Then spake the Bodhisattva to her and comforted her: "Fear not for love of thy son ; thou shalt pluck the fruits of thy labor. Not in vain doth a Buddha renounce the world. I shall fulfil the prophecy of Asita and make plain the prediction of Dīpangkara. Though the earth should fall into a hundred fragments, and Meru droop with his radiant brow into the waters, though sun, moon and stars should be smitten to the ground, yet I, the only human being, should not die. Therefore be not sorrowful, for soon wilt thou behold the Wisdom of a Buddha". (252 : 5, 13 ; 253 : 13).

Quite to the left on a mound of rock, within a niche of the rocky wall planted with vegetation as usual, sits the Bodhisattva, again only on a mat. He addresses his comforting words to Māyā seated on the same eminence in the scene, she is in the attitude of sĕmbah and has evidently brought the offering of flowers and wreaths that is between them on a large dish. Above the dish, a flame can be seen, as elsewhere indicating the incense smoke ; though here we might take it for a lamp placed behind the dish, it being midnight. The figure of the godess is very much worn-away. Behind her on the groundfloor kneel the apsa-

[1]) I. e. that of complete exhaustion brought on by excessive penance.

ras of her suite; the front one with incense-burner and fan in her hand; among the others, some carry a tray with garlands or some loose flowers or a fly-whisk and others a lotus stem. The godess still wears the halo assigned to her during her mortal life.

79. *The gods honor the Bodhisattva*

> All those gods, nāga's, yakṣa's, gandharva's, asura's, garuḍa's, kinnara's and mahoraga's, who had witnessed the virtues of the Bodhisattva, stayed with him by day and night, shewed him honor, and gave him service. There through the Bodhisattva while he underwent the six years of penance so difficult to endure, full twelve tenthousands of gods and men were brought to maturity by means of the three Vehicles. (257 : 13).

Here too, the Bodhisattva sits on the left in his rocky niche, with foliage round him, and now once more upon his lotus-cushion. With the right hand he makes a gesture to the gods, sitting in a large company before him; they fill up the rest of the relief to the right. The background is again trees. The attitude of the gods at this moment is not that of paying honor; they evidently are listening to the Bodhisattva's lecture, that is to bring them to "maturity". The sculptor has not thought worth while to give us anything of the demi-gods the text speaks of.

The text continues with a passage not illustrated on the monument, where Māra, the Evil One, tries to tempt the Bodhisattva to forsake his life of penance. This suggestion is of course dismissed with scorn. Meanwhile the Bodhisattva begins to see the uselessness of his fasting and penance, and to look round for something to eat.

80. *The gods request the Bodhisattva to absorb nourishment through his pores*

> The gods sons who felt compassion for the exhausted one and who with their minds had knowledge of my mind, came to the place where I was and said unto me: "Most noble being, thou needest not partake of such abundance of food; we will infuse the strength thereof through thy pores." Then I thought in my mind: "I can give myself the air of not taking food, and my neighbors, the people of the villages near by, would believe that the çramaṇa Gautama did not eat. And meanwhile the gods sons who have com-

passion with the exhausted one would infuse the strength of the nourishment through my pores. But it would be a very great lie to do so". Thereupon the Bodhisattva to avoid this lie, refused the offer of the gods sons and turned his thoughts to taking abundant food. (264 : 4).

The fact that there are five equally-important persons all dressed in divine costume conversing with the Bodhisattva, is my reason for not agreeing with Pleyte's opinion who considers this to be the above-mentioned conversation between Māra and the Bodhisattva (pag. 116). I think it can be nothing else but a collective appearance of gods and then only the above-quoted passage can be intended, which as immediately connected with the Bodhisattva's decision to stop his fast, in every case deserves to be represented in the sculptured text. The Bodhisattva still sits on the lotus-cushion in his niche in the rocks with the trees round it, on the left of the relief ; he is in the vitarka-mudrā pose. The five divine visitors are seated more to the right, and come into the middle of the picture with a tree behind them. The right hand side of the relief is taken up by the conventional rocky landscape we have had already several times : rocks and trees with squirrels and birds and other creatures. On the ground a couple of pigs, and some birds in the air. We must not think of reproaching the sculptor for placing us here among a mountain scenery, while the Bodhisattva is still, as in the preceding reliefs, on the banks of the Nairañjanā or in its neighborhood. Let us rather praise him for the skill with which he did introduce variety into scenes that are so very much alike. The visit of the gods will also be found at Pagān, where the Bodhisattva shews distinct signs of emaciation [1]).

As soon as the Bodhisattva declares his intention of breaking his fast, the five disciples are very much shocked ; they lose faith in their master, take leave of him and retire to the deer-park at Benares.

81. *The Bodhisattva receives food from the maidens of Uruvilvā*

Now from the time that the Bodhisattva began his penance so difficult to endure, there came to him ten young maidens, daughters of the village chief, to look at him, greet him and offer their services. These maidens prepared all kinds of pap and offered all to the

[1]) Seidenstücker, abb. 59 and p. 46 and 99; on the following relief he is seen recumbent and wholly exhausted

> Bodhisattva. And when he had eaten thereof, gradually while he was going through the village to beg, his color, his beauty and his strength returned to him. Since that time the Bodhisattva was called "the beautiful çramaṇa" or "the great çramaṇa". (265 : 1, 6).

A handsome building, on the left, shews that the scene is changed to the village ; it is built on a high foundation, has a niche with a monster's head, a vaulted roof towards which a pair of doves are flying and a wing on the right, so richly decorated, that it would do for a palace if on another relief ; here it is used for the dwelling of the village chief. One of the maidens stands in the left corner behind the building with a flower in her hand ; the others sit right in front under a palmtree ; the first one of these also has a flower. Their spokeswoman is offering a bowl of food to the Bodhisattva facing her. Between the two on the ground is a large dish of flowers above which is an umbrella, a detail not given by the text; there is a single lotus next to it also on the ground. The Bodhisattva is reaching out his right hand towards the dish of flowers and holds the tip of his garment with the left ; he has come from the right where the scene closes in with the traditional rocky landscape and trees; a squirrel is climbing up one and a lion looks out of his round den.

Perhaps this episode is to be found on a Gandhāra-relief[1]) that otherwise differs entirely from Barabuḍur ; the Bodhisattva sits quite alone in the appearance of an ascetic and a female figure with a bowl stands next to him. There are two gods present beside Vajrapāṇi, it may be Çakra and Brahmā, as his usual companions in the Saṃbodhi-cyclus, but there may be a special reason for their presence in connection with the request, recognised on the preceding Barabuḍur scene.

82. *The Bodhisattva washes the hempen-garment*

> Now while I continued these six years, my russet garments had become threadbare and I thought: "It would be a good thing had I something to cover my privy parts". At that time, a slave of Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief, had died, her name was Rādhā ; she had been wrapped in a hempen cloth, carried to the graveyard and left there. Then I saw that rag and drew it towards me with my left foot, stretched out my right hand and bent to pick it up.

[1]) A. G. B. I fig. 193, pag. 381

passion with the exhausted one would infuse the strength of the nourishment through my pores. But it would be a very great lie to do so". Thereupon the Bodhisattva to avoid this lie, refused the offer of the gods sons and turned his thoughts to taking abundant food. (264 : 4).

The fact that there are five equally-important persons all dressed in divine costume conversing with the Bodhisattva, is my reason for not agreeing with Pleyte's opinion who considers this to be the above-mentioned conversation between Māra and the Bodhisattva (pag. 116). I think it can be nothing else but a collective appearance of gods and then only the above-quoted passage can be intended, which as immediately connected with the Bodhisattva's decision to stop his fast, in every case deserves to be represented in the sculptured text. The Bodhisattva still sits on the lotus-cushion in his niche in the rocks with the trees round it, on the left of the relief ; he is in the vitarka-mudrā pose. The five divine visitors are seated more to the right, and come into the middle of the picture with a tree behind them. The right hand side of the relief is taken up by the conventional rocky landscape we have had already several times : rocks and trees with squirrels and birds and other creatures. On the ground a couple of pigs, and some birds in the air. We must not think of reproaching the sculptor for placing us here among a mountain scenery, while the Bodhisattva is still, as in the preceding reliefs, on the banks of the Nairañjanā or in its neighborhood. Let us rather praise him for the skill with which he did introduce variety into scenes that are so very much alike. The visit of the gods will also be found at Pagān, where the Bodhisattva shews distinct signs of emaciation [1]).

As soon as the Bodhisattva declares his intention of breaking his fast, the five disciples are very much shocked ; they lose faith in their master, take leave of him and retire to the deer-park at Benares.

81. *The Bodhisattva receives food from the maidens of Uruvilvā*

Now from the time that the Bodhisattva began his penance so difficult to endure, there came to him ten young maidens, daughters of the village chief, to look at him, greet him and offer their services. These maidens prepared all kinds of pap and offered all to the

[1]) Seidenstucker, abb. 59 and p. 46 and 99, on the following relief he is seen recumbent and wholly exhausted.

Bodhisattva. And when he had eaten thereof, gradually while he was going through the village to beg, his color, his beauty and his strength returned to him. Since that time the Bodhisattva was called "the beautiful çramaṇa" or "the great çramaṇa". (265 : 1, 6).

A handsome building, on the left, shews that the scene is changed to the village ; it is built on a high foundation, has a niche with a monster's head, a vaulted roof towards which a pair of doves are flying and a wing on the right, so richly decorated, that it would do for a palace if on another relief ; here it is used for the dwelling of the village chief. One of the maidens stands in the left corner behind the building with a flower in her hand ; the others sit right in front under a palmtree ; the first one of these also has a flower. Their spokeswoman is offering a bowl of food to the Bodhisattva facing her. Between the two on the ground is a large dish of flowers above which is an umbrella, a detail not given by the text; there is a single lotus next to it also on the ground. The Bodhisattva is reaching out his right hand towards the dish of flowers and holds the tip of his garment with the left ; he has come from the right where the scene closes in with the traditional rocky landscape and trees; a squirrel is climbing up one and a lion looks out of his round den.

Perhaps this episode is to be found on a Gandhāra-relief [1]) that otherwise differs entirely from Barabuḍur ; the Bodhisattva sits quite alone in the appearance of an ascetic and a female figure with a bowl stands next to him. There are two gods present beside Vajrapāṇi, it may be Çakra and Brahmā, as his usual companions in the Saṃbodhi-cyclus, but there may be a special reason for their presence in connection with the request, recognised on the preceding Barabuḍur scene.

82. *The Bodhisattva washes the hempen-garment*

Now while I continued these six years, my russet garments had become threadbare and I thought: "It would be a good thing had I something to cover my privy parts". At that time, a slave of Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief, had died, her name was Rādhā ; she had been wrapped in a hempen cloth, carried to the graveyard and left there. Then I saw that rag and drew it towards me with my left foot, stretched out my right hand and bent to pick it up.

[1]) A G B I fig 193, pag. 381

Thereupon the Bodhisattva thought thus: "I have got a piece of rag; now it would be good if I had water". Then the gods struck on that place with their hands on the earth and a pond appeared. Again the Bodhisattva thought: "Now have I water; if I could obtain also a stone wherewith to wash the cloth, it would be well". Then at that moment on that place Çakra caused a stone to appear and the Bodhisattva began to wash the cloth. Thereupon spake Çakra, king of the gods, unto the Bodhisattva thus: "Give it unto me, noble being, that I may wash it". Yet the Bodhisattva, to show that a wandering monk does his own work, gave not that ragged cloth to Çakra, but washed it with his own hands. Heavy and faint of body after stepping into the pond, he would have stepped out again. But Māra, the Evil one, possessed with the sin of envy, caused the banks of the pond to increase greatly in height. At the side of the pond grew a great kakubha-tree; and the Bodhisattva spoke unto the godess thereof to please her according to the custom of the world: "Let a branch of thy tree bend towards me, o godess". And she let down a branch of the tree and holding it fast the Bodhisattva came up out of the water. When he was come out, he made under that kakubha-tree a coat of the ragged cloth and sewed it. (265: 16; 266: 12, 16).

The Bodhisattva stands nearly in the middle of the relief on the large flat stone the text speaks of. He has the cloth in his left hand, evidently about to wash it in the pond shewn on the left, surrounded by trees and adorned with lotus flowers and plants, some of them with waterfowls on them. Behind the Bodhisattva kneels an umbrella-bearer; further to the right stand a group of gods, the front one makes a sĕmbah to the Bodhisattva who holds his right hand in vitarka-mudrā: so this is clearly the moment when the Bodhisattva refuses the offer for washing his cloth. The god who makes the request should be Çakra, and here the sculptor has been good enough to confirm the fact, for the first of the four followers of the god wears a headdress arranged in the style of a trunk, has elephant ears and holds the angkuça in his hand; so he can be no other than Airāvata, Çakra's faithful companion. Quite to the right we see a rocky landscape with trees and some animals, and on the extreme left next to the pond is the kakubha-tree that plays its

part at the end of the episode. The godess of the tree is already kneeling under the tree and makes a respectful sĕmbah to the Bodhisattva.

83. *The Bodhisattva receives the russet monk's dress*

> A Çuddhavāsakāyika gods son named Vimalaprabha offered the Bodhisattva divine monks' garments reddish of color, fitting and suitable for a çramaṇa. The Bodhisattva took them and having dressed himself betimes in the morning and having put on the coat went his way to the village. (267 : 9).

Both sides of the relief shew a wooded landscape, but of a milder sort than in several preceding reliefs ; the rocks are reduced to mere surface projections in the ground. Some animals are included to enliven the scene, especially to the left, two elephants, two monkeys in the trees and one peacock. The Bodhisattva advances from the wood on the left, holding out his right hand to accept the present. In front of him stand three gods, the first of whom is handing over a garment of small size while the third holds a larger garment, the two pieces needed to complete the three-piece dress of a monk, with the coat that has just been made. On the ground, behind these standing figures, are three gods sitting.

84. *Sujātā entertains the Bodhisattva*

> Then the gods, in Uruvilvā, the village where a captain of soldiers was posted, made known to Sujātā, the daughter of the village chief Nandika, at midnight : "He for whose sake thou makest a great sacrifice, is about to make end of his penance and partake of good and abundant food. In former time thou hast prayed: May the Bodhisattva after accepting food from me, attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Do then what thou hast to do". On hearing these words from the gods, Sujātā, daughter of the village-chief Nandika, hastened to take the milk of a thousand cows, and after taking off the cream seven times obtained cream of the best and strongest. Then she set that milk with fresh rice in a new pot on a new stove and cooked it.
>
> And when the pap was ready, Sujātā placed it on the ground, strewed it with flowers, sprinkled it with perfume and placing and

preparing a seat, she said to a slave named Uttarā: "Go, Uttarā, fetch hither the brahman, I will care for this sweet pap".

Then came the Bodhisattva to the house of Sujātā, daughter of the village chief, and set himself down on the seat prepared for him. Then Sujātā offered him a golden bowl full of the sweet pap. And this thought came into the mind of the Bodhisattva:

„When such food has been offered to me by Sujātā, I shall surely this day after partaking thereof attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom". And after partaking of this food the Bodhisattva then spake to Sujātā, daughter of the village chief: "Sister, what is to become of this golden bowl?" And she answered: "It is thine". Then said the Bodhisattva: "I can make no use of such a bowl". Sujātā spake: "Do with it what thou wilt; I give no one food without the dish". (267 : 13; 268 : 6, 18).

When we compare this relief with No. 81, we might suppose that the sculptor has made a mistake. At that point in the text, a meal is spoken of prepared by ten maidens collectively, while on the relief only one dish appears offered by one maiden. Here on the contrary the text mentions specially one bowl, offered by Sujātā, while the relief gives us several dishes in the hands of several women, and still more food is being prepared. It is not easy to find out if this is merely the sculptor's carelessness, or if there is more in this than meets the eye; anyway it is noticeable that our text too shews signs of disorder: the communication that the gods make to Sujātā, in the beginning of our quotation, that the Bodhisattva will break his long fast, is here rather misplaced, for the Bodhisattva has already taken food a few pages earlier and besides, Sujātā was one of the young ladies who provided the meal on which he breakfasted. I can offer no elucidation but merely call attention to this coincidence of irregularity in the text known to us, with what, according to that text, is an inaccuracy on the monument.

We find the Bodhisattva, quite in agreement with the text, on a throne, one that consists of a pedestal with a triangular roof resting on columns, on the left of the relief. Next to that is a roomy pĕndåpå, and adjoining that again on the right of the scene a building on which is a heavy roof with an upper-storey, but where the ground-floor is left open to show the persons sitting in it. Inside the pĕndåpå in the foreground, next to the Bodhisattva, is a large covered dish placed on a slab on the ground, with steam rising out of the flower-bedecked lid.

Next to that stands Sujātā, offering a round dish to the Bodhisattva; it too has a lid but is not decorated with garlands. He reaches out his right hand to take it. This is surely the golden bowl of the story and the vessel on the ground is probably the new cooking-pot. Behind Sujātā kneel some women, of whom the front one holds a fan and probably used to have an incense-burner now knocked off as well; two others are holding dishes. The background of the pĕndåpå is adorned with flags. In the building, on the right, we see first, some more women with a fifth dish and finally in the corner a larger pot on a wood-fire with two women busy over it, one with a large spoon in her hand, the other with a short stick, probably, in agreement with other cooking scenes, a blow pipe to rouse the fire, possibly only something to stir with. Perhaps this is the new pot on the new stove, but what are we to think then about the large dish next to the Bodhisattva? Also at Ajaṇṭā the Sujātā episode [1]) will be found as well as at Pagān [2]).

85. *The Bodhisattva goes to the Nairañjanā*

> Then the Bodhisattva went out of Uruvilvā with that bowl and came in the morning to the river of the nāga's, the river Nairañjanā, laid that bowl and his monk's dress on the bank and stepped into the river Nairañjanā to refresh his limbs. (269 : 9).

The river is well-supplied with fish, it flows to the right between rocky banks planted with trees; on one side we see a couple of deer, on the other two squirrels. To the left of the river is the Bodhisattva with Sujātā's offering in his right hand. The wooded scenery is continued on the other side, to the left a couple of birds are flying. Four gods are kneeling on this side of the relief, in front of the Bodhisattva and do him homage; on Wilsen's drawing, the second is a nāga but at this moment he has lost his headdress and we have little chance of judging the correctness of the drawing. A nāga would not be out of place beside this nāga river, but on the following relief we find no nāga among the kneeling figures.

86. *The Bodhisattva takes a bath*

> And while the Bodhisattva bathed himself, many hundred thousands of the gods sons filled the river with divine aloe-and

[1]) Foucher, Lettre p 224 etc
[2]) Seidenstucker, abb 63 and p 49 and 100

sandalwood-powder and ointments and threw divine flowers of various colors into the water to do honor to the Bodhisattva. At that moment the river Nairañjanā was filled with divine perfume and flowers and where the Bodhisattva had bathed in that sweet-smelling water, there hundred thousand millions of koṭi's of the gods sons scooped up the water and carried it each to his dwelling, there to make a caitya for it and adore it. (269 : 13).

A good part of the lower part of the relief is taken up by the river. On the right, the rocky bank rises steeply up with only an occasional tree ; on this side a pair of snakes push up their heads out of the water, adorned with the traditional jewel, and on the edge is the food-bowl of the Bodhisattva. His clothes are not laid beside it, for the sculptor has decorously kept them on and he is not in the water but appears on a very narrow flat lotus cushion in the middle of the river with, as usual, the tip of his garment in his left hand [1]). Left, and separated from him by some trees on the bank, some figures of gods are kneeling on the water, scooping it up with small bowls. Still more to the left, the other river-bank is depicted with bushes growing on it, where are a pair of deer grazing, a tree with a peacock in it and in the corner a rock, in front of which glides a snake. In the river can be seen not only fishes but many flowers floating and still more blossoms and garlands are falling from the sky, dropped by the gods who hover on the clouds with bowls of flowers, one on the right and five on the lefthand ; the two last of this group are evidently inhabitants of the Brahmā-heaven in the dress of earthly ascetics and hermits. The relief is very well-executed but unfortunately some of the heavenly ones are rather damaged. The bathing scene is also to be found in the Serindian art [2]).

87. *The Bodhisattva accepts a seat from a nāga-maiden*

Now when the Bodhisattva had stepped out of the river, he looked about along the bank desirous to be seated. Then appeared the nāga-maiden of the river Nairañjanā from out of the earth and offered the Bodhisattva a stately seat made of precious stones. (270 : 1).

This relief too has suffered a good deal but is still quite distinct.

[1]) The artist at Pagān has taken still less trouble and seats the Bodhisattva simply on his lotus cushion in dhyāna-mudrā without any water, in the scene which the inscription describes as a bath ' See Seidenstücker, abb. 64 and p 49 and 100 etc

[2]) Stein p. 859 and pl. LXXVII (Tun-Huang).

The throne is in the centre, wide, the back carved at the sides with makara-heads; it has a large oblong cushion on it, nothing else. On the right next to it under a tree kneels the nāga-maiden with her hands on the ground in front of her, before her stands the Bodhisattva with the food-bowl in his right and the tip of his garment in the left hand, still on the same flat lotus-cushion of the last relief. The water still ripples round it and in front of the nāgī and the seat; the Bodhisattva has evidently not yet stepped out of the water as the text required him to do, although the rocks next to the cushion shew that he is near the bank. On the left of the seat some more nāgī's are kneeling with flowers in their hands, evidently the servants of the one who provides the seat. The whole background here and behind the throne is decorated with banners.

88. *The Bodhisattva partakes of the rest of the milk-food*

> Then the Bodhisattva seated himself and partook of the sweet pap, as much as he desired, for the sake of Sujātā, daughter of the village chief. (270 : 3).

Here we have a striking example of the little that can be expected from the Barabuḍur sculptor's accuracy in details. The throne that plays an important part in the tale, and therefore in this episode has more meaning than the thrones and seats elsewhere, is quite a different one on this relief to the one before, where it was presented. It is much lower, the panel-decoration on the front of the base is gone and the back has a different shape. The Bodhisattva now sits on it, not on the round cushion that was put ready, but on a lotus-cushion. Next on the right is a rocky scene with a lion in his den, a peacock, and the usual trees; on the left on a small pedestal the food bowl, to which the Bodhisattva reaches out his right hand and next to that a vase of flowers; still more to the left kneel three nāga-maidens under the trees. Behind these, the left of the relief is occupied by rocks with an armadillo and trees in which a pair of apes are sitting, in the left hand corner some bamboo-plants. Between these rocks flows the river, well-stocked with fish [1]).

89. *The food-bowl is carried away by Sāgara and then by Çakra*

When he had finished eating he threw that golden food-bowl in

[1]) The corresponding relief at Pagān again gives no adornment in the mise-en-scene, see Seidenstucker, abb. 65 (comp. text and p. 49 and 101

the water without looking at it. And when it was thrown away, Sāgara, the nāga king, respectfuly carrying out his thought, took it up and turned towards his dwelling thinking "this is worthy to be honored". Thereupon the thousandeyed Puraṃdara (Çakra), assuming the form of a garuḍa, tried with the lightning in his beak to take the golden foodbowl from Sāgara, the nāga king, but when he was not able to do that, he begged courteously for it in his own person and carried it away to the heaven of the three and thirty gods, in order to make a caitya for it and adore it. (270:5).

Two consecutive episodes from this tale are represented on the relief; the throwing away of the bowl and its being handed over to Çakra. The first scene is on the right; the Bodhisattva still sits on his lotus-cushion on the rocky bank, but his throne has been still more reduced and has a back of the plainest style. He has just thrown away the food-bowl with his right hand into the river flowing past the chair, the precious object is already in the hands of the kneeling Sāgara, who has lost his headdress but unmistakenly preserves his identity by his attitude and the company of the two nāga's kneeling behind him. Just behind these two the second scene begins. A pĕndapa quite on the left, enclosed in a palissade; there inside a female nāga is sitting with two servants; this will be the nāga dwelling. On the right, outside, is another seat with a row of jewel-pots underneath it that also indicate the domain of the nāga's. On this seat is Sāgara with a servant behind him and the bowl in his hand that he is on the point of handing over to the god sitting opposite, who holds out his hands for it. Behind this god sits also a companion; no other than Airāvata with his elephant-ears, the trunk-headdress and (indistinct) the angkuça. So his master, in accordance with the text, is the god Çakra, already in his own person again to receive the bowl.

90. *The Bodhisattva, on the way to Bodhimaṇḍa, receives grass from Svastika*

After the Bodhisattva had bathed in the river Nairañjanā and had renewed his strength of body with food, he set forth to the land of sixteen forms, to the foot of the great king of trees, the Tree of Wisdom. And from the river Nairañjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa, there between, was all cleared by the gods sons of wind and clouds and

sprinkled with perfume and strewn with flowers by the gods sons of the rainclouds.... From the river Nairañjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa, there between, the road was decorated after one model for the distance of a kroça by the Kāmāvacara gods sons. On the left and on the right side of this road an altar of seven kinds of precious stones was made to appear, seven tāla's high, and adorned above with jeweled gauze and heavenly umbrellas, banners and pennons etc.

Then the Bodhisattva thought: "On what did the former Tathāgata's[1]) who attained the highest and most perfect Wisdom seat themselves"? And he remembered: "On grass that was spread".

Then the Bodhisattva saw on the right side of the road the grass-cutter Svastika, who was cutting grass, green, soft, young, pleasant grass, growing in tufts, bent to the right, like the necks of peacocks, agreeable to the touch as kācilindi-stuff, sweet-smelling, bright and making glad the heart. And when he saw that, the Bodhisattva stepped off the road, went to the place where Svastika was and spake to him with a sweet voice: "Quick, Svastika, give me grass, to-day I am greatly in need thereof; when I have overcome the Evil One with his army, I shall attain the perfect rest-giving Wisdom".... And when he heard the gentle and sweet words of the Leader, Svastika rejoiced and was cheerful, full of joy and gladness, he took up a handful of grass, pleasant to the touch, soft, fine and bright, he stood before the Bodhisattva and spoke to him glad of heart. (272:8; 273:9, 16; 285:17; 286:3; 287:3, 13).

The first part of this quotation accounts for the presence of the great number of gods on this relief: they are the gods who prepare and adorn the route. We can't suppose them to be anything else, though this scene does not shew them hard at work and there is no sign of the altars with umbrellas etc. spoken of in the text; the further description of the road decoration does not in the least correspond either, so that I have not quoted the whole of the elaborate passage. We do not see any result of the divine labor until the following relief. The important episode for

[1]) The word Tathāgata, not yet satisfactorily explained, I leave untranslated Chalmers came to the conclusion that it means „who has come at the real truth" (Actes du onzième Congrès intern des orient Paris 1897, p 150). Kern gives: „the infallible one" (Gesch v h. Buddh. I, 1882, p. 77); Foucher translates it as „Prédestiné" and compares it with the Greek „Erchomenos" (A G B II p 567)

the moment is the conversation between the Bodhisattva and Svastika. This passage occurs in the text after the homage by Brahmā and Kālika given on the following relief. Arbitrary alteration seems of course improbable ; the sculptor has evidently had a text before him with another sequence, the more likely as we know of another text with the same alteration i.e. the Chinese translation of the Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra [1]). Nor is the inclusion of the gods in this incident anything original ; it is found as well on the Gandhāra-reliefs [2]), where the Bodhisattva, accompanied by Vajrapāṇi, stands opposite the grass-cutter with his bundle. At Pagān we see, first the Bodhisattva on the road between two gods with banners, and then the offering of the grass by the grass-cutter on the left, but no witnesses [3]). On the Barabuḍur scene we have, on the left, the field shaded by trees and Svastika on his knees; with his right hand he plucks a bundle of grass, the left has a sort of stick, to the end of which the Bodhisattva stretches out his right hand (that is broken off), while he stands holding the tip of his garment with the left hand, on the lotus cushion, in the road that is indicated by a bit of rock with a bush on each side of the cushion. The text is thus deviated from by the Bodhisattva here not leaving the road for the conversation; that Svastika kneels instead of standing as on the Gandhāra-reliefs need not be a divergence but may merely be the result of Svastika not having yet risen from his knees to give his answer. The meaning of the object in his left hand is not clear ; it does not look like the bamboo that is used by the natives to beat the grass. The round-shaped little object in the lefthand bottom corner is probably a bird's nest in the grass from which the birds hovering above have flown; by looking carefully another little bird can be seen inside it. The scene between the Bodhisattva and Svastika does not occupy more than a third of the relief; the remaining two thirds is all gods with a background of trees, in four groups: one standing, one kneeling, another standing and then one kneeling. Some carry flowers. There are no attributes to distinguish one sort from another.

91. *The Bodhisattva honored by Brahmā and Kālika*

During the night in which the Bodhisattva became desirous to attain the Wisdom, in that night the Vaçavartin-named lord of

[1]) Beal, The Romantic Legend of Çâkya Buddha (1875) p 196 etc.
[2]) Foucher, Sikri pl 7, A G B I fig 197 and 198, p 391 etc
[3]) Seidenstücker, abb. 68 and 69 en p 50 and 101

three thousand great thousands (worlds) Brahmā Sahāpati turned to the brahma-congregation and spake thus: "This, o worthy ones, ye must know. This Bodhisattva, the Great Being, will go forth to Bodhimaṇḍa to conquer the armies of Māra, desiring to attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom. Therefore must ye all, o worthy ones, hasten to honor the Bodhisattva respectfully."

By the radiance that shone from the body of the Bodhisattva the dwelling of the nāga-king Kālika was illuminated. He rose up accompanied by the female nāga's, and looked out towards the direction of the four winds. There he saw him, resembling the Meru, shining in his own radiance, surrounded by a multitude of gods and dānava's, by Brahmā, Indra and yakṣa's, who delighted to honor him and shew him the way. And the nāgaking glad and joyful of mind, honored the best one of the world, fell at his feet and stood humbly before the Monk. Also the nāgamaidens enraptured and joyful, came to do honor to the Monk, strewed flowers, perfume and ointments, and did resound instruments of music. (274 : 16 ; 275 : 9, 14 ; 281 : 9; 282 : 9).

What caused the sculptor to unite the homage by Brahmā and that by Kālika on one relief, is unknown to us ; but the result is that the nāga's only get a very small place in the scene, much less important than the popularity of this episode in the Buddhist world leads us to expect and very much less characteristic than the curious scene on the Gandhāra-reliefs[1]) with which Barabuḍur has no other similarity than that Kālika and his spouse appear on the same scene with some figures of gods, among whom in Gandhāra is Brahmā too, not however as the chief figure in a company but only as one of the two more or less passive gods who accompany the Bodhisattva on the whole of his journey from the Nairañjanā to Bodhimaṇḍa. Possibly this may account for the appearance of a group of unemployed gods on No. 90 and for the fact that on the relief we are now describing, besides the group with Brahmā, several other gods are to be seen who apparently do nothing but form a sort of guard of honor for the Bodhisattva. According to the passage quoted above, the text also makes mention, though incidentally, of this divine escort. On the relief it quite gives the impression of being the

[1]) See A G B I fig 194—196 p 384—387, II fig 400, p 193 Also given A M I pl 99

Bodhisattva's company. He stands, with the right hand in vitarka-mudrā and the tip of his garment in the left, on a lotus cushion ; the suite is on the right, all standing, except a kneeling umbrella-bearer. On the stick of this is attached only the usual pennon, while the umbrella itself for want of space is pushed a bit to the right and in that way gets a curious tend in the handle. On the left, separated from the Bodhisattva by a vase of flowers, kneels Brahmā, to be recognised by his tied-up hair; he makes a sĕmbah and his followers carry flowers. In the background we have here, besides an umbrella, three flagstaffs with cakra's and more to the left, many more banners and pennons, possibly brought by the company that comes to do homage, but maybe intended for the road-decoration, mentioned on page 97 ; of this decoration there are more traces in the garlands with pendant lotus-flowers all along the top edge of the relief. On the left, behind the group of Brahmā, the nāga's are sitting ; Kālika with a company of three, two of them maidens with flowers. The nāga-king himself holds a stick fixed in a knot-shaped pedestal, with a large jewel at the top and the usual pennon fluttering round the staff [1]) ; this is certainly meant for a mark of honor to the Bodhisattva. On the before-mentioned reliefs at Gandhāra the design is quite different ; there the nāga and one spouse rise up from behind the balustrade that is supposed to surround their lake.

92. *Decoration of the Bodhi-trees*

> And as the Bodhisattva came near to the Bodhi-tree, eighty thousand Bodhi-trees were decorated by the gods sons and the Bodhisattva's: "While here seated, shall the Bodhisattva attain the Wisdom and become Buddha". At the foot of all these Bodhitrees suitable lion-thrones were placed covered with all kinds of heavenly stuffs; beneath some a lotus-throne was prepared, under others a perfume-throne and again under others a throne made of various precious stones. The Bodhisattva fell into the meditation called Laḍitavyūha and as soon as he had attained this Bodhisattva-meditation, he became visible under all the Bodhi-trees, sitting on the lion-throne, his body shewing all the signs and tokens. And every Bodhisattva and gods son thought: "On my lion-throne sits the Bodhisattva and not on another's". (288 : 11, 20).

[1]) Entirely wrong in Wilsen's drawing, see Pleyte p. 129.

Although this relief very plainly indicates the adornment and honoring of different trees, there is very little else that agrees with the passage in the text. Not because there is nothing to be seen of the various appearances of the Bodhisattva, for that is a later phase of the story to the actual decoration; but because there are no thrones at all depicted to give the spectator any notion of what the decoration is for. In the foreground we see three trees and in the background some more; they are richly decorated with an umbrella, bells and jewels and of course in a stylisated design. The three first ones have an incense-burner on each side, and in front of the left and righthand one is a shell filled with flowers, on a pedestal; the middle one has a pot with a lid. On both sides of each tree sits or kneels a god in various attitudes, either making a sĕmbah, or with a water jug or bowl in the hand, or looking after the incense-burner. It is noticeable that these figures are alternately male and female, while the text speaks only of gods sons and Bodhisattva's.

93. *The Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi-tree*

> Now the Bodhisattva betook himself with the bundle of grass to the place where the Bodhi-tree stood and walked round it seventimes keeping it on the right, spread out himself an excellent layer of grass with the points inwards and the roots outwards, and set himself thereon with legs crossed, turned to the East, the body upright, holding his memory active and made a firm resolve thus: "May my body wither on this seat, my skin, bones and flesh decay; until I have attained the Wisdom so hard to achieve in many aeons, my body shall not be moved from this chair!"
>
> And while the Bodhisattva was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, at that time he spread a radiance called the Bodhisattva-stimulation. From out the East, that part of the universe called Vimalā, from the Buddha-field of the Tathāgata Vimalaprabhāsa, came a Bodhisattva, a Great Being called Lalitavyūha, roused by that light, surrounded and followed by Bodhisattva's without number, to Bodhimaṇḍa where the Bodhisattva was, etc. (289: 11, 16; 290: 5, 9).

In a most diffuse description we are told how similar companies of Bodhisattva's gather together from the nine other points of the com-

pass and how they render homage in various superhuman ways. We will not follow the text any further, any more than the sculptor has done, who has lightened his task by just representing Bodhisattva's coming to do honor to the Bodhisattva seated under the Bodhi-tree. We shall merely notice that the Bodhisattva is already sitting and therefore the well-known scene of the spreading of the grass [1]) in the Gandhāra art is not here given. In the middle of the relief the Bodhisattva now sits in dhyāna-mudrā on a plain seat, the back ornemented with makara-heads, above which a triangular space is left out for background to the head and halo. On both sides of that space leaves and branches of the tree appear. On the right of the throne is a vessel with high lid on a pedestal, left, a dish of flowers with smoke rising from it. Further, right and left, we see the Bodhisattva's; one standing in front on the right makes a sĕmbah, the left one has probably had an incense-stand and fan (now knocked off) and behind, the rest of them is seated, some holding flowers. In the background as well on both sides a staff with pennon and a tree. The woman who puzzled Pleyte (p. 131) is only a mistake in Wilsen's drawing of one of the two standing Bodhisattva's.

94. *Māra's unsuccessful attack*

Then while the Bodhisattva was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, he thought as follows: "Here in the kingdom of desire, Māra, the Evil One, is lord and ruler; it would not become me to attain the highest and most perfect Wisdom without his knowledge. Let me then provoke Māra, the Evil One".

And Māra, the Evil One, made ready a great army of four weapons, by great strength strong in the battle, fearful of aspect, causing the hair to rise, such as never before were seen or heard of by gods or men, who could alter their faces in many ways and change into other forms a hundred thousand ten thousand koṭi's of ways, their persons surrounded with a hundred thousand serpents twisting round

[1]) A G B. I fig 199 p 393 and 200 p 397. At Pagān, not less than four reliefs are given to the ascending of the throne on each of which the Bodhisattva holds the grass in his hand; see Seidenstucker, abb. 70—73 and p 50 and 101 etc. On the following reliefs he is then seated to take the vows.

their arms and legs, and armed with sword, bow and arrows, spear, lance, axe, pike, blowpipe, bat, stick, noose, club, quoit, lightning etc. etc.

All kinds of missiles they hurled at the Bodhisattva, and rocks as big as the Meru, yet when they were thrown on to him, they were changed into pavilions with a roof of flowers. And the masses of fire that they blew out of their eyes, of their snakes and from their breath, these became a circle of fire like an aureole round the Bodhisattva. Swords, bows, arrows, spears etc. as soon as they were hurled, became various garlands of flowers, as it were a tent of flowers ; like fresh flowers strewn upon the ground and like wreaths that were hung up they adorned the Bodhi-tree.

The Bodhisattva spoke in a firm, deep, serious, gentle and sweet voice to Māra, the Evil One: "By thee, o Evil One, the kingdom of desire was acquired by one voluntary sacrifice, but I have offered many million koṭi's of willing sacrifices, arms, legs, eyes, the best limbs cut off and given to those who desired them, houses, riches, grain, couches, garments, pleasure gardens, many times given to those who asked for them, because I strove for the Salvation of all beings". Then said Māra, the Evil One, to the Bodhisattva: "That I have made a sacrifice, willing and unimpeachable in a former life, thou art here my witness; but for thee, here is none as witness even with a single word ; thou art conquered" ! Then said the Bodhisattva : "I appeal to this mother of creatures, O Evil One". And as soon as she was touched by the Bodhisattva, this mighty earth trembled in six manners. Then the godess of the great earth named Sthāvarā appeared, surrounded by hundred koṭi's of earth-goddesses, and while the whole earth shook, having split the surface near to the Bodhisattva, half of her person rose up, adorned with all her ornements and bowing to the place where the Bodhisattva was, making a sĕmbah, she spoke to him thus : "It is so, great being, it is so as thou hast declared, we all are witnesses thereof". (299 : 19 ; 305 : 4 ; 317 : 6, 15 ; 318 : 1, 20 ; 319 : 3).

Both the two consecutive chief incidents of this episode, the attack

of Māra's army and the appeal to the Earth for witness, are put into one scene on this relief. The Bodhisattva, on whose throne the grass is plainly visible, sits in the middle of the relief in bhūmisparça-mudrā and immediately on the left the upper part of a female figure appears out of the ground with a vase in her hand; though not strikingly divine to look at, this can be no other than the earth-godess. The pose of the hand above-mentioned being assumed beforehand, during the attack, is not unusual; but the appearance of the earth-godess is a logical conclusion that has very seldom been depicted; for instance on a relief at Cambodia [1]). Behind the Bodhisattva, a round piece is left open ; the upper half of which is surrounded by the foliage of the Bodhi-tree, the lower half is outlined by flames as the text describes. The enemies' arrows come on both sides, their points already changed into flowers — just like the Cambodia relief — and above hover more loose flowers, the metamorphosed projectiles. The sides of the relief are filled in with the armies of the Evil One. Above we see, on both sides, a many-armed figure, carried on the shoulder of another figure and holding many and various weapons ; the many-armed figure is most unusual at Barabuḍur. The other warriors have a fearful and warlike aspect, although there is hardly any actually monstrous figure (above, right) ; they mostly wear swords and shields, but also bits of rock and other weapons and even a blowpipe can be seen. Two are seated on mis-shapen horses; and a hog's head is there too. On the left below is Māra, seated on an elephant — this occurs too on the representations elsewhere as we shall see — in the dress of a god, just shooting off an arrow. Probably the Evil One is put in a second time, he may be the figure in god's dress below on the right, sitting with head on his hand in dejection and surrounded by male and female followers, one of whom stands with both hands on his master's headdress, to put it on or take it off. According to Pleyte (p. 135) this is Māra defeated and though a little previous while the battle still rages, this is not improbable, as there is a corresponding scene at Ajaṇṭā. Also I may call attention to a remarkable detail that proves how the sculptor in famous scenes like this, follows not only the text but some actual tradition as well. I refer to the three small figures that support the throne as atlantes. The text does not mention them and their presence is only to be accounted for by the imitation of a motif known on the continent. The famous vajrāsana of Mahābodhi is supported

[1]) A G B I fig 205 p. 407 According to Foucher (I I p 402) it is one of Māra's daughters. Comp. II p 628

by these little figures as well as lions [1]), and the later Buddhist iconography, as appears from a sādhana, requires their presence. There is no reason here to trace the history of these supports, we can refer to Foucher's explanation [2]) ; its interest for us is in the proof it gives of the dependance of the Barabuḍur sculptors on the traditions of the art of Hindustan, in conjunction with what the text gave them.

We find elsewhere fewer representations of Māra's onslaught than might be expected, that is to say of the attack by itself. The reason is that the artists who were depicting the defeat of the powers of evil, preferred to combine the military attack with the defeat of the allurements of Māra's daughters. These combined scenes will be discussed with the following relief. The attack alone, is found in the Gandhāra-art [3]) and in connection therewith in some of the reliefs at Amarāvatī [4]) as well as in the Serindian art [5]) and in the Chinese caves of Yun-Kang [6]).

95. *The daughters of Māra attempt to seduce the Bodhisattva*

Then Māra, the Evil One, spake unto his daughters: "Go now, ye maidens, to Bodhimaṇḍa and tempt the Bodhisattva, if he be subject to passion or free therefrom, if he be wise or foolish, blind or quick sighted, faithful to his resolve, weak or strong". Hearing these words these apsaras betook themselves to Bodhimaṇḍa, where the Bodhisattva was, and they came before him and displayed the two and thirty kinds of female allurement. And what are those two and thirty? These following: some veiled the half of their face, others uncovered their firm round breasts, others etc. etc.

But not with all their ten thousand arts of rousing desire could they tempt the Sugata with the mien of a young elephant. Then spake the daughters of Māra these verses unto their father : "The female allurements, father, that have been spread before him, that

[1]) Cunningham, Mahâbodhi, pl 13.

[2]) Iconographie bouddhique II (1905) p 19 etc

[3]) A G B I fig. 201 p 401, fig 202—204 p 405 ; II fig 306—307 p 15, fig 402 p 197, fig 403 p 201, fig 498 p 539, fig 500 p 545

[4]) See Burgess pl 32 (monsters in front of the throne ; Māra on the elephant on both sides, the righthand one turns away); same pl 36 and 38

[5]) Grunwedel, Altbuddh Kultst Turk fig 383 (A G B II fig 523 p 605)

[6]) Chavannes, Mission, fig 228 and p 311 Single warriors of Māra's army are found at Pagān; compare Huber, Bull Ec franç d'Extr Or 11 (1911) p 4 The female figure is depicted on an earlier relief, of the taking seat on the throne, see Seidenstucker abb 74 and p. 82 and 102

should have bent his heart to passion, not one moment on seeing these was his mind moved; as the king of the mountains he remained firm. (320 : 1 ; 329 : 11 ; 330 : 9, 18).

The Bodhisattva is still sitting in bhūmisparça on a plain seat with makara-back and the tree spread above him ; the grass is not there, he has a lotus cushion again. On both sides, Māra's daughters are displaying their enticements. On the right two are dancing, while as is often the case, an old gentleman dressed like a brahman beats time with a pair of bells ; several other women are here standing and kneeling, some of them with similar bells, and one in the corner has some drums to make up the music. On the left, in front, one of the daughters seated, makes a respectful sĕmbah ; still more stand behind with flowers in their hands. The Bodhisattva, as behoves him, takes no notice of it all. Quite on the left the defeat of their efforts is being announced ; Māra in ordinary godlike costume sits quite dejected under a tree, his sitting-mat laid on the knees of some of his daughters who kneel there, evidently telling him their tale of disappointment [1]).

As I mentioned by the last relief, the temptation scene is often combined with the attack of Māra's army. Probably representations like that at Amarāvatī belong to this same sort, where according to what the Old-Indian art dictated, the throne under the tree is empty and only the footprints of the Master indicate his presence ; what is going on seems quite clear from the female figures next to the throne and the misshapen monsters coming and going in front of it [2]). At other places the Bodhisattva himself is depicted but the design remains the same[3]). Sarnāth gives the same combination in a rather different form. The example at Ajaṇṭā is remarkable [4]) ; while the future Buddha sits in the middle, the upper part of the scene is given up to the attack ; the monsters advance from the left (most of them with heads of animals and faces on the belly) with Māra on his elephant, and they disappear with their master on the right. Below this stands left the Evil One with bow and

[1]) My explanation therefore differs from Pleyte's (p 136), the lefthand group according to him is the giving directions for the temptation Misled by the drawing he considers the dance to be the retreat of the maidens after their attempts fail On the photo the dance is quite distinct, and my explanation of the left group is grounded on the very dejected aspect of all the persons, see further p 111 here below

[2]) T S W pl 98, 67

[3]) Burgess, pl 16, 41, prob also 31 ; A.G B II fig. 503, p 565 Maidens only on fig 506 p. 563?

[4]) A G B. I fig. 209, p. 413, II fig 507 p 563 ; A M I. pl 67, 68.

[5]) C T I pl 51 ; Burgess, Notes pl 20 ; Griffiths pl 8 and fig 64 ; Foucher, Lettre p 225 ; A.G.B. II fig 503 p. 555.

arrows, giving instructions to his daughters, and more to the right, they are standing and dancing, but in the righthand corner Māra sits vanquished and dejected on the ground just as at Barabuḍur, with some of his daughters round him after their defeat. On a South-Indian relief at Ghaṇṭaçālā [1]) the same scene can be recognised [2]) ; the throne has only a cushion on it and the old tradition is so far followed; but for the rest we see just as at Ajaṇṭā in the upper half, Māra and his troops attacking and retreating, while below on the left, Māra is encouraging his daughters and the dancing is going on on the right. The disheartened figure of Māra is not there, so it is important to notice that Ajaṇṭā and Barabuḍur in contrast to others, agree in this point. At Pagān only the dance is given [3]) ; in Gandhāra the scene is represented too with Māra and his daughters already present when the Bodhisattva arrives [4])

The Bodhisattva's reflections that follow in the text are of course passed over by the sculptor, who at once comes to their conclusion.

96. *The Bodhisattva attains the highest Wisdom*

> In the late watch of the night when the day began to break, the Bodhisattva with such lofty comprehension, according to an insight that absorbed in unity of thought and time all that could be known, thought, achieved, seen and contemplated, attained the highest and most perfect Wisdom, and acquired the threefold knowledge.
>
> Thereupon the gods spake : "Strew flowers, o friends, Bhagavān hath attained the Wisdom". Then the gods sons strewed divine flowers over the Tathāgata till a knee-deep layer of the blossoms was formed. (350 : 8, 12 ; 351 : 3).

The Bodhisattva, now become Buddha, is still seated on a throne with lotus cushion in bhūmisparça-mudrā ; the back of it is here lower but still has the makara-ornement, and above like a round niche the tree bends over him. On the ground on both sides is a flowering plant on a pedestal hung with garlands and covered by an umbrella, placed between two shells with flowers, also on pedestals. Right and left sit the gods, some with bowls of flowers in the hand and above in the clouds

[1]) Rea, South Indian Buddhist Antiquities, Arch Surv New Ser 15 (1894) pl. 28
[2]) Hultzsch in Journ Roy As Soc 1912 p 409 etc
[3]) Seidenstucker, abb 75 and p 55—57, 33 and 102 etc
[4]) A G B II fig 401 p 193.

hover more of them, also with flowers and vases to honor the Buddha with a rain of blossoms.

No special importance need be given to the plants and shells, not mentioned by our text [1]; they will be intended merely as ornement to the relief on which the attainment of the Buddha-ship is depicted, the zenith of the Buddha's life. It is in fact very difficult to bring any special distinction into this fact, so unfitted for plastic representation, and to distinguish it from the other scenes of meditation and predication. The Barabuḍur sculptor had his task made easier by the long chain of previous scenes that enlighten the spectator and prepare him for the climax of the supreme moment; to give an idea of it on one separate and complete relief would be almost impossible. We know in other places of the great difficulty there was in giving any distinctive character to the Abhisaṃbodhana so that as equivalent, Māra's attack, the temptation-scene or the offering of the four bowls was given (here below No. 104). The representation in older Indian art with the empty throne under the Bodhi-tree, cannot of course be compared with that of Barabuḍur [2].

97. *The Buddha honored by the apsaras*

For the first seven days the Tathāgata remained seated in that same Bodhimaṇḍa.

All the Buddha's testified their approval to the Tathāgata who had attained the Wisdom and sent the dharmāchāda's, who shaded this whole complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds with many umbrellas made of precious stones.

Then when the Kāmāvacara-apsaras became aware that the Tathāgata, who was seated at Bodhimaṇḍa, had attained the Wisdom, they turned to Bodhimaṇḍa and praised the Tathāgata with these verses: "At the foot of the king of trees, after vanquishing the army of Māra, he sits, unshaken as the Meru, knowing no fear and in silence etc.". (351 : 15 ; 352 : 4 ; 353 : 9, 17).

The text does not say positively that the apsaras went to Bodhi-

[1] In other sources the flowering of plants at the moment of the Sambodhana is specially mentioned (Kern II p 72).

[2] Mahâbodhi pl 3 (A G B I fig 206), Bharhut pl 30, also Sāñchi (Foucher P or. p 65) and Amarāvatī (Burgess pl. 18, 33, 45 etc ; A G B II fig 475 p 391) At Pagān we see the Buddha in bhūmi-sparça-mudrā under the Bodhi-tree; Seidenstucker, abb 80 and p 55 and 103.

maṇḍa, but that they turned in that direction; the sculptor however has brought them there and they are kneeling on both sides of the scene, the front one on the right with incense-burner and fan, others with flowers and dishes in their hands. Between two vases with a spout and lotuses, sits the Buddha still in the same bhūmisparça-attitude, on his lotus cushion ; the throne is again altered, has no back but small pillars on which the makara-heads rest that form the beginning of a sort of garland-like niche over the Buddha's head ; the tree projecting over the niche has very little resemblance to the ficus religiosa. The objects floating in the air are very peculiar. First, on each side, five umbrellas ; the gifts of the other Buddha's whose number has been reduced to ten in accordance with the ten directions of the wind. Below these on both sides, four large lotus flowers or lotus cushions, according to Pleyte (p. 140) an indication of the other Buddha's ; but that seems to suggest more than the spectator can be expected to understand Better leave the meaning in abeyance as also that of the flower-figures that appear on each side of the tree, consisting of one flower in the centre and four others crosswise round it. It may possibly have some symbolical meaning, but then one unknown to us, as the text says nothing about it. The whole does not look as if it had accidentally got into this shape (no less than the viçvavajra) without signifying anything more than ornement ; so I cannot consider it merely a fancy of the Barabuḍur artist, but think that in the text he used, the umbrella-incident was put more in the foreground than in ours and that the more elaborate edition made mention of other such apparitions.

98. *The gods bathe the Buddha with perfumed water*

> Then when the week was past, the Kāmāvacara gods sons took ten thousand vases of perfumed water and came to where the Tathāgata was, also the Rūpāvacara gods sons came with ten thousand vases of perfumed water. When they had come there, they bathed the Bodhi-tree and the Tathāgata with perfumed water.
>
> With thousands of jewel-pots and all kinds of perfumed water did the company of gods bathe the Friend of the world who had attained with tenfold powers the perfection of the virtues ; and from all sides ten thousand koṭi's of gods in company of ten thousand apsaras honored him with thousands of instruments of music, in an incomparable way. (369 : 12 ; 376 : 17).

The Buddha in bhūmisparça-mudrā still sits on his throne that again has the makara-ornement ; the tree is now reduced to very small dimensions. The gods stand right and left ; the front one on each side holds up with both hands a vase with a spout to water the Buddha and the tree. A few of the other gods also hold vases, without spouts, and of the ordinary gĕndi-shape. Behind the gods, on the extreme right and left, stand some apsaras with flowers and gifts of honor but without any music instruments. In the prose portion from which the first quotation is made, the apsaras are not mentioned at all, the verses of the second passage speak of them, as is seen, but very casually. The two quotations are separated by what follows on the next relief.

99. *The Buddha replies to Samantakusuma*

> Then a gods son named Samantakusuma descended among the company and falling at the feet of the Buddha said thus to him, holding his hands in sĕmbah : "O Bhagavān, what is the name of the meditation, absorbed in which the Tathāgata remains for seven days without changing the crossed position of his legs?" Then answered the Tathāgata this gods son and said : "Prītyāhāravyūha, o son of the gods, is called the meditation in which absorbed the Tathāgata remained seven days without changing the crossed position of his legs". Thereupon the gods son Samantakusuma praised the Tathāgata with verses. (370 : 3).

As it appears above, text and relief in some details are not quite in accord ; so we might expect to see in this scene the homage of various sorts of gods as it is given in the 23rd chapter of the Lalitavistara, though it preceeds in the text the bath of perfumes. We should be all the more inclined to think this because otherwise this whole chapter would be passed over by the sculptor. Still I think we must reject such an explanation because the Buddha on this relief not only is receiving homage, but according to his attitude is occupied in making some declaration to one of the company who evidently shews that he is asking or declaring something. For this reason I believe that the sculptor again follows the usual sequence of the text and gives the question of Samantakusuma after the episode of the perfumes.

The Buddha for the first time has relinquished his bhūmisparça-attitude ; he sits in abhaya-mudrā on his lotus cushion, still on the vajrāsana under the Bodhi-tree ; by way of variety a triangular space

is left out behind his head. On both sides is placed a flowering plant or bouquet on a pedestal, next in the background is an umbrella and after that under some trees sit the gods in various attitudes. The front one on the right is the one with whom by his gesture the Buddha is talking, therefore Samantakusuma.

100. *The Buddha takes a walk and then returns to Bodhimaṇḍa*

> In the second week the Tathāgata took a long walk that included the complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds.
>
> In the fourth week he took a short walk for the distance that is between the East and the West sea. (377 : 3, 7).

So as to make clear that the Buddha is taking a walk, but not leaving Bodhimaṇḍa for good, the sculptor has chosen the moment of his return to depict the events of the second or fourth week. The empty throne stands under the tree in the middle of the relief ; a lotus cushion put ready on it, above which is a kind of niche. The throne has here become a real siṃhāsana ; two small lions on four legs support the seat on which are two lions rampant, their heads touching the back of the seat. The Buddha advances from the right, he stands on a lotus cushion, holding the tip of his garment in the left hand and making a gesture of dismissal with the right. The sculptor has considered it beneath his dignity to be alone on his walk, so there is an umbrella-bearer (whose umbrella has a crooked stick for want of space) and a company of gods. Left of the throne is another umbrella and some one sitting on the ground, probably another gods son, who is fanning an incense-burner. The rest of the space on the left is fitted up with woodland scenery ; trees with birds perched therin, and underneath deer couching.

Now in the text follows a repetition of the temptation scene ; three of Māra's daughters, not discouraged by the warning of their father, who considers it a hopeless case, make another attempt to captivate the Buddha. He transforms them into old women, but later on relents at their request and pardons them. This scene is not given on the monument, maybe it was not in the text the sculptor followed, or he did not feel inclined te repeat the incident of No. 95. According to Pleyte (p. 136 and 143) the sculptor did give a combination and No. 95 would be typical for the second temptation scene. His argument is founded mainly on his taking the weatherworn dancers for the maidens changed into old women (relying on Wilsen's drawing), and this comes of course in the second, not in the first temptation scene. The drawing has also led him

astray in another detail: Māra sitting in the left corner seems to be tracing patterns in the sand and this too is only spoken of in the second temptation scene, but in reality there is nothing to be seen of it on the relief. I have already given in No. 95 my explanation of this scene and how it corresponds to the first temptation scene, there quoted.

101. *The nāga-king Mucilinda pays homage to the Buddha*

> Now in the fifth week the Tathāgata stayed in the dwelling of the nāga-king Mucilinda. In that week as it was very bad weather, the nāga-king Mucilinda came out of his habitation and wound round the Tathāgata's body seven coils and protected him with his hood: "let no cold winds reach the body of Bhagavān". And from the East came nāga-kings in great number and wound round the body of the Tathāgata seven coils etc. etc. Then when at the end of the week the nāga-kings saw that the bad weather was passed, they unwound their coils from the body of the Tathāgata and after honoring his feet with their heads and walking round him three times with their right side turned towards him, they returned each one to his dwelling. Also the nāga-king Mucilinda honored the feet of the Tathāgata with his head, walked rould him three times with his right side turned towards him and entered his dwelling. (379: 15; 380 : 5).

There is no sign on the relief of the principal incident of this episode, that is only possible if the nāga's are represented in serpent form, but on the Barabuḍur they appear only in human shape, merely distinguished from ordinary people by their hood with cobra-heads. The sculptor has made no attempt to do anything more, he omits the protecting of the Buddha and gives only the homage of the serpent-king [1]). The Buddha sits in a pĕndåpå left on the relief, in vitarka-mudrā on a weather-worn lotus cushion. On the right, still inside the pĕndåpå, behind the cushion, appears the head and front legs of an elephant, with a little fellow mounted on it and bending over to

[1]) At Amarāvatī (T.S.W pl. 76; Burgess pl. 31) the Buddha sits on the coils of the nāga and is shielded by its hood. See also Sarnāth (Ann. Rep Arch. Surv 1904—5 pl. 30). In the modern Buddhist art Mucilinda is also in serpent-shape, for inst the Siamese fig in Frankfurter's „The attitudes of the Buddha", Journ of the Siam Society 10 (1913) pl. 9 and the Tibetan in Hackin, 11. pl. 9.

his left, holding his right hand above his head, with a flower in his left. Why this small person and the elephant are put there next to the throne, I can't imagine. Outside the pĕndåpå is an incense-burner, behind which Mucilinda is kneeling with his hands on the ground in front of him. Next to him an umbrella is set up, on the right stand his male and female nāga-suite, most of them carrying gifts of honor; flowers and a vase are distinctly to be seen, but the large object held by the front one is damaged beyond identification.

102. *The Buddha meets with other ascetics*

> In the sixth week the Tathāgata went away from the dwelling of Mucilinda to the banyan-tree of the goatherds. Between these two places along the banks of the Nairañjanā the Tathāgata was seen by caraka's, parivrājaka's, old çrāvaka's, gautama's, nirgrantha's, ājīvaka's and others who said unto him: "Has the Bhagavān Gautama passed this week of bad weather according to his desire?" Then spoke the Tathāgata these cheerful words: "According to his desire is solitude for the contented one who hath heard the Law and obtained insight; according to his desire is compassion in the world and devotion to living beings, according to his desire is freedom from passion in the world and victory over sin; this is according to his greatest desire in this human world". (380 : 10).

There is here nothing to shew that we have returned to the banks of the Nairañjanā. On a path hewn out of the rock the Buddha stands on his lotus-cushion; the left hand holds the tip of his garment, the right is raised towards the persons he addresses. Behind him on the right, against a background of foliage, follow the gods who form his escort, the front one holding an umbrella. On the left hand of the relief on a space with trees and low rocks stand four representatives of the ascetics the text mentions, hermits and monks of other sects. Two of them have smooth hair and plain clothing somewhat in the style of brahmans, the front one salutes with flowers in his folded hands; the second, holding a parasol, wears a beard. On the extreme left are another pair of the hermits who appear on so many reliefs, with hair twisted up in a knot, necklace and loincloth. The front one of these also seems to be giving the flower salute; the relief is here very much worn-away. Above the Buddha some flowers are falling from the sky.

103. *The merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika approach the Buddha*

In the seventh week the Tathāgata tarried at the foot of the tārāyaṇa-tree. Now at that time there were two brothers from the North named Trapuṣa and Bhallika, wise and skillful merchants, who journeyed with much stuff and many sorts of merchandise from South to North, with a great caravan of five hundred laden wagons. They had two excellent bulls named Sujāta and Kīrti who had no fear of obstacles; and when the other bulls would draw no longer, these two were put in front. Near to the tārāyaṇa, by reason of the enchantments of a godess who lived in a kṣīrika-wood, all their wagons came to a stand and could go no further. They were seized with fear and wonder: "What can be the reason and what is the hindrance that causes the wagons to stand still upon this level ground?" Then they put in the two bulls Sujāta and Kīrti, but these too could go no further. Then they thought: "Surely there is something ahead of us that causes the bulls to fear, so that even these fail." And the godess after making herself visible, comforted them saying: "Have no fear," then both bulls drew the wagons to the place where the Tathāgata was. When they saw him there, radiant as the god of fire, they marvelled saying: "Is Brahmā descended to this place, or Çakra the king of the gods, Vaiçravaṇa, Sūrya, Candra or some mountain- or river-god?" The Tathāgata then showed them his russet garments and they said: "It is a wandering monk in russet clothing, we have no cause to fear." Then taking courage they said one to an other: "It will be time for the monk to eat. Is there anything?" And others replied: "There is honey cake and peeled sugarcane". And taking the honey cake and peeled sugarcane, they came to the place of the Tathāgata and did homage to his feet with their heads, walked three times round him keeping the right side turned to him, stood aside and spoke: „Bhagavān, receive these alms from us in friendliness to us." (381 : 3, 11, 15, 18, 21; 382 : 4).

It was of course impossible to depict all the various consecutive phases of this whole tale, and the sculptor has chosen the moment when

the merchants, reassured by the godess, are approaching the Buddha. He sits in dhyāna-mudrā on a throne with makara-ornement and triangular back, from the sides of which as from the tārāyaṇa-tree that projects above it, rays stream out to indicate the shining of the Buddha that made such an impression on the spectators. On the ground on both sides are sitting gods, a group of three and four; the front one on the right has an incense-burner, others have flowers. On the right we see three of the merchants coming, very much damaged, we can only say they are plainly-dressed, without headdress, and have beards; they carry an umbrella. The godess is under a tree opposite to them, her hand raised; between her and the front merchant, above the ground, is some half-obliterated rock-scenery in which only two birds above, and another below in a nest in the rock, can be distinguished. In the left corner of the relief there is another landscape with rocks and trees and a pair of dilapidated gazelles adorn it [1]).

104. *The four Guardians of the world offer a bowl*

Then thought the Tathāgata: "It would not be right for me to take this with my hands. In what way did former Tathāgata's, who had achieved perfect Wisdom, accept it?". "In a bowl" he remembered. Then, having noticed that it was time for the Tathāgata to partake of food, the four Great Kings came from the four points of the compass with four golden bowls and offered them to the Tathāgata: "Bhagavān, accept these golden bowls out of friendliness to us." But the Tathāgata, considering that these were not suitable for a çramaṇa, would not accept them. The same with four silver bowls etc. Then thought the Tathāgata: "In what kind of bowl was it received by the former Tathāgata's, the arhat's who had attained perfect Wisdom?" "In stone bowls" he remembered.

The four Great Kings, each with his followers round him, offered these bowls filled with divine flowers to the Tathāgata. Then he thought: "These four Great Kings, devout and pure, offer me four stone bowls, yet I can not make use of four. If I take one from one of them, the other three would be displeased. Therefore I shall take the four and make them into one." Then the Tathāgata

[1]) They are certainly not the two bulls so as Pleyte suggests (p. 145), nor should we expect to see them on the opposite side of the relief to where their masters are standing.

accepted the bowls from the Great Kings Vaiçravaṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūdhaka and Virūpākṣa out of friendliness and made them into one, by the power of his friendly disposition. (382 : 15 ; 383 : 5, 18, 21 ; 384 : 10, 15, 20 ; 385 : 3).

On each side of the Buddha who sits in varada-mudrā on a plain throne under the tree, stand two Guardians of the world, each with his stone bowl in the hand ; this is the usual arrangement for this scene also in Gandhāra [1]), where as was mentioned, the offering of the bowls is often substituted for the attainment of the Buddha-ship. There is still more public present, sitting right and left, with some trees in the background. Among the much-damaged group on the left, probably the gods here also present, one strangely enough is holding a fifth bowl. The persons on the right with plain headdress will be the merchants, two of them ready with a dish of food.

105. *The Buddha receives milk food from the merchants*

At that time the herd of cows that belonged to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika was at a neighboring market-place. At that moment the cows were giving instead of milk, cream of melted butter. The cowherds came to the merchants Trapuṣa and Bhallika with that cream of melted butter and told them thereof. At that time there was a brahman Çikhaṇḍin, in his former life a kinsman of the merchants, reborn into the brahmā-heaven. He took the form of a brahman and spoke to the merchants these verses : "Formerly ye made the vow : "May the Tathāgata when he has attained the Wisdom, after eating of food offered by us, cause the wheel of the Law to revolve". Now is the vow fulfilled ; the Tathāgata hath attained the Wisdom. Offer him food ; after eating thereof he will cause the wheel of the Law to revolve." After putting together the milk of a thousand cows without leaving anything over and taking from it the finest cream, full of respect they prepared a dish of food. The bowl made of precious stones that bore the name of the moon and held a hundred thousand pala's, was

[1]) Foucher, Sikri fig 13 and A.G B I fig 208 p 412 and 210 p 417, J.I A.I. 11. pl. 14 ; B A I pl 93. In the cave of Yun-Kang on the contrary they are shewn kneeling, see Chavannes, Mission fig 227 and p 311.

filled up to the brim with the food, after being cleaned, purified and made spotless. With honey and this bowl, they came to the foot of the tārāyaṇa, to the Master: "Accept and receive this food which we bring thee in devotion, and partake of it." (386 : 3, 11, 22).

Although the Buddha is supposed to be sitting in the same place, his throne has undergone important alterations and now has a very fine and richly-ornemented lowerpart. The tree as well for no apparent reason has been altered ; instead of the ordinary foliage, there appears in the air a large lotus flower turned forwards and surrounded on both sides by flowers and flower branches. Small trees are placed on both sides of the throne, next to which on the right is a very dilapidated ornamental plant on a pedestal; left, the bowl decorated with flowers and garlands and also on a pedestal, now knocked off. The gods sit on the right, one standing in front with a lotus in his hand ; one of those seated holds a bowl of flowers, another an oblong covered dish. On the other side of the Buddha, who is in abhaya-mudrā, are the merchants. The front one is standing, lifting up the dish of milk food with both hands; two others sit behind him. On both sides the relief is finished off with rocky scenery and trees with some animals, especially birds on the left. The same episode is found at Ajaṇṭā[1]) and perhaps too in the Gandhāra art[2]) where the two merchants stand one on each side of the Buddha, but the identification is not certain.

106. *The gods request the Buddha to reveal the Law*

The great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, lord of ten times three thousand great thousands (worlds) was by the power of the Buddha in his mind aware of what passed in the Tathāgata's mind: that the spirit of Bhagavān, being not cheerful, was inclined towards not revealing the Law. Then he thought: "Let me go myself to the Tathāgata and request him to reveal the Law." Surrounded and followed by sixty eight hundred thousand brāhmaṇa's he betook himself to the place where the Tathāgata was, did homage to his feet and spoke to him with hands held in sĕmbah: "This world goes completely to ruin, Bhagavān, if the Tathāgata after attaining

[1]) Foucher, Lettre p. 225, cf. Griffiths, Paintings pl. 59.
[2]) A G B I fig. 192 p. 379, A M I pl. 159. See Foucher, A G B I p. 415.

the highest Wisdom, being not cheerful inclines his mind towards not revealing the Law."

Therefore the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, betook himself to the place where Çakra, king of the gods, was and said unto him: "This well thou shouldst know, Kauçika, the mind of the Tathāgata is inclined (etc. as above). Why should we not go together to the Tathāgata, the arhat who has attained the perfect Wisdom, to request him to reveal the Law?" "It is good, o worthy one." Then Çakra and Brahmā, the earth-gods, the heaven-gods etc. etc. came to the place where the Tathāgata was and placed themselves aside. Çakra, king of the gods, went up to the Tathāgata, bowed before him with hands held in sĕmbah and praised him in verses etc.

When the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted and Çakra, king of the gods, became aware that the Tathāgata kept silence, they went away sorrowful and dejected with those gods sons(393 : 20; 394 : 8 ; 396 : 4, 5, 11, 13, 18, 21 ; 397 : 20).

Between two incense-burners is placed the once more plain throne of the Buddha, who sits in dhyāna-mudra. The tree is in the same style of hovering flower-arrangement, and now covered by an umbrella. The gods sit on both sides with trees in the background; some are making a sĕmbah, others hold gifts of honor. None of them has his hair dressed high so as to be Brahmā, nor is Çakra to be identified by the presence of Airāvata in the usual way. It seems to be more a deputation of the gods in a body, not Brahmā or Çakra in particular.

107. *The Buddha agrees to reveal the Law*

Towards the end of the night the great Brahmā with hair high-twisted, caused on all sides of the foot of the tārāyaṇa a divine radiance to shine with matchless colors and going to the place where the Tathāgata was, did homage at his feet with his head, and after throwing his upper-garment over one shoulder and placing his right knee on the ground he bowed to the Tathāgata with hands in sĕmbah and spoke these verses unto him: "In former lives didst thou resolve: "When I myself have passed to the other

side, then will I be a helper to others." Now without doubt thou hast passed to the other side, therefore fulfil thy promise, o hero of the truth."

Being then conscious of his own complete knowledge and yielding to the request of the great Brahmā with high-twisted hair, the Tathāgata spoke these verses: "The doors of immortality are open for those who strive ever earnestly after the highest, they enter who are faithful, with no evil in their minds, they hear the Law, the beings of Magadha". And when the great Brahmā with high-twisted hair was aware that the Tathāgata agreed, he did homage to his feet and went away satisfied, cheerful, gay, delighted, full of joy and gladness (398 : 9, 11 ; 399 : 17 ; 400 : 15).

As this relief also depicts a conversation of the Buddha with the gods, among whom no one can be selected as Brahmā, nor is anyone in a kneeling posture such as the text describes for him, we could easily believe that this scene does not represent the above-quoted conversation with Brahmā at all, but for instance the visit of Çakra and Brahmā together, quoted at No. 106, while No. 106 itself would be the first unsuccessful effort of Brahmā alone. In support of this argument we might add, that the text does not mention the fact that Brahmā on his last visit to the tārāyaṇa was accompanied by other gods. There is really something to be said for this and I shall not ignore the possibility of its being correct. But I consider it more reasonable, in spite of the disagreement in various details, to think that when two scenes are allowed for the visit of the gods, we are more likely to find first the unsuccessful attempt and then the successful one, rather than only the two attempts that failed, whereas the most important, where the repeated request is at last successful, should be considered not worth depicting.

The tree has now quite disappeared and is replaced by an umbrella with waving ribbons above the head of the Buddha, who sits on a throne with makara-ornement in vitarka-mudrā. On the right is a large stand, with wreaths or what looks like them, the relief being rather damaged. Left, a vase with lotus-flowers. Then on both sides, again with a background of trees, the figures of the gods; the front one right making a sĕmbah, in the left group one or two with flower bowls. On each side of the Buddha two heavenly ones [1]) come flying and flowers are falling down.

[1]) At least one of them is a female; so they are not the four Guardians of the world (Pleyte p. 151).

It may be useful to compare the representations of the request of the gods found elsewhere, for it appears that it is not always thought necessary to distinguish Brahmā and Çakra; see for instance the relief of old Indian art at Mahābodhi [1]), nor does one of the Gandhāra representations known to us [2]) indicate the two gods; though another one shews them plainly. The two Gandhāra reliefs are also remarkable in another way: on one, the Buddha sits with the same gesture of the hand as on our No. 107 and the tree is omitted as well; on the other, he has the attitude of dhyāna-mudrā and the tree is there, just as on No. 106. Whether this is mere chance, or if a certain tradition required both phases of this episode to be distinguished in this way, or that perhaps, as Foucher suggests, the Javan sculptors have taken two traditional forms of the same episode, with the idea of making two separate incidents, this I should not venture to decide. It is quite likely that an accepted tradition will have existed in sculpture as well, concerning such an important moment that was depicted already in the oldest Indian art.

108. *The Buddha deliberates to whom he shall reveal the Law* (?)

Then thought the Tathāgata: "To whom first of all shall I reveal the Law?" And he considered: "Rudraka, son of Rāma, is pure and good by nature. Where doth he dwell at the present day?" Then he became conscious that Rudraka had died seven days ago. Also the gods falling at the Tathāgata's feet said: "So it is, Bhagavān, so it is, Sugata; to-day Rudraka, son of Rāma, is dead seven days."

Then thought the Tathāgata: "Ārāḍa Kālāpa too is pure and such a one as would put no hindrance in my way of teaching the Law". And he mused: "Where is he at the present moment?" And while he mused he knew that Ārāḍa had died three days before. Also the Çuddhāvāsakāyika gods told him: "So it is, Bhagavān, so it is, Sugata; to-day Ārāḍa Kālāpa is dead three days."

Then thought the Tathāgata: "The five of the blessed company are pure and good by nature.... to them will I first reveal the Law." And he mused: "Where do they live at present, the five of the blessed company?" He looked round the whole world with

[1]) Cunningham, pl 8 (= A G B I fig 214).

[2]) Foucher, Sikri fig 4; A G B I fig 212, 213, and p 420—427 That here the gods are standing, does not matter.

clearseeing eyes and saw the five of the blessed company dwelling at Benares, at Ṛṣipatana in the deer park. (402 : 19; 403 : 3, 8, 11, 20 ; 404 : 7, 12, 14).

It seems to me very doubtful if this relief represents the episode of the above-quoted text. Quite to the right, the Buddha is seated on a throne with makara-ornement ; an umbrella is there too above his head. He makes a gesture of argument with his right hand. Next to him is a vase with legs, there are lotuses in it and the smoke of perfume rising from it. The uncertainty is about the persons who occupy nearly all the right of the relief, with a background of trees. In the front, nearest to the Buddha, sits a figure in royal or divine costume making a sĕmbah, a little further are three men in much the same dress, two of them holding a bowl of flowers. Then come some kneeling figures in plainer clothes with the umbrella and other royal insignia and finally, away on the left, some more persons are sitting very plainly-dressed, some armed with sword and shield. The four front ones might be gods, but the rest of the company look much more like the ordinary royal suite than part of a heavenly crowd. Although we have quoted above a passage that according to the text ought to follow, and which is possibly the one represented, I am much more inclined to think that the sculptor has here followed a deviating text and depicts the visit paid by a king with a distinguished escort and ordinary suite, to the Buddha. This view seems the more probable because we have no explanation for the following relief.

109. *The Buddha on the way to Benares (?)*

Having thus mused, the Tathāgata rose up from Bodhimaṇḍa, and made tremble a complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds; he went forth gradually further through Magadha and came on his journey to the land of Kāçi. (405 : 1).

As mentioned before, the text says nothing about what this relief represents ; at any rate the Buddha has begun his journey to Benares and has not yet encountered the ājīvaka-monk, whom we shall see on the next relief. I have therefore only quoted the few lines of the text that describe the beginning of his journey. The Buddha is coming from the right where some trees cut off the scene ; he has the tip of his garment in the left hand and holds out the right. Next to him an umbrella is fixed up, there is a stand fitted with flowers or suchlike,

and on the ground a heap of something that looks too like flowers; on top is a large lotus from which a flame rises. Then we see three persons, not very well-dressed, who are paying homage to the Buddha, the two front ones stand, one with a dish of food and the second (a woman ?) [1]) with a lotus in her hand, the third is kneeling and holds a rather indistinct bowl. Still more to the left, between two trees, is a building on a high foundation, it has a niche with kālamakara-ornement, and a little tower on the middle of the roof looking just like the usual style of small temples. Quite on the left we can see under some trees another group of worshippers sitting with a tray of garlands from which a line of perfume rises, a dish of food and a bowl of flowers. Though the meaning of this scene in hidden from us, I must mention that according to Pleyte (p. 153), this might be the homage of king Bimbisāra, a suggestion I am not able to contradict, but that rests only on the supposition that this prince would not let the Buddha pass by unnoticed.

110. *The meeting with a ājīvaka-monk*

> Between Gayā and Bodhimaṇḍa another ājīvaka-monk saw the Tathāgata approaching from afar, and he came to the place where the Tathāgata was and stood aside. Standing there the ājīvaka held pleasant converse with the Tathāgata over various matters and spoke thus: "Thy senses have been wholly subdued to calmness, o worthy Gautama.... By whom hast thou been brahman-scholar?" And when he had spoken, the Tathāgata answered this ājīvaka in a verse: "No teacher have I had, nor does any man exist equal to me ; I am the one perfect wise being, calm by nature and free from all corruption", etc.
>
> He said: "Whither goest thou, o worthy Gautama?" The Tathāgata answered: "To Benares shall I go and when I am come to the city of the Kāçi's, I shall set going the wheel of the Law, that never yet has revolved in the world." "That shalt thou do, Gautama." And having so spoken the ājīvaka set forth to the South and the Tathāgata to the North. (405 : 3, 17 ; 406 : 8, 14).

The meeting takes place on a space planted with trees ; by putting

[1]) This is according to the drawing ; it is not distinct on the photograph.

several trees behind and above one another, the sculptor has given some idea of perspective. On the right a hind is couching under a tree with a pair of squirrels climbing in it, on the left we see a bird and two hares. The ājīvaka[1]) is coming from the same side accompanied by two colleagues; the first and the third make a sĕmbah, the middle one holds up a flower on his open hand. They are not naked, as might have been expected[2]), but wear a monk's frock reaching to the ankles, a girdle with a clasp in front, an upper-garment, rolled-up like a bandolier over the left shoulder and under the right arm, bangles on the upper arm and the hair brushed up smooth from the forehead and twisted up on top of the head with one lock hanging down. The Buddha, approaching from the right and walking on a lotus cushion, lifts his right hand towards them; he is followed by a god as umbrella-bearer. Notice the ūrṇā, distinctly worn by two of the ājīvaka's, probably meant as token of their sect.

111. *The Buddha is entertained by the nāga-king Sudarçana*

The Tathāgata was invited at Gayā by the nāga-king Sudarçana to remain and partake of food (406 : 18).

As we shall see by this and the three following reliefs, the sculptor has not restricted himself to what in the text and the life of the Buddha is most important, but takes the opportunity that occurs to give us some scenes very unimportant in themselves, but suitable for a fine relief. It would make no difference to our knowledge of the life of the Master or the contents of the Lalitavistara, if No. 115 followed direct on No. 110; but we should miss some scenes that are well worth attention on their own account.

The throne offered to the Buddha is very curious; the lotus cushion is laid on an octagonal seat ornemented with lions, the back is plain and above it is a canopy on four columns. The Buddha is seated, the right hand stretched out on the right of the relief, so that there is only room for one nāga umbrella-bearer to stand there. On the other side of the throne are two umbrellas, a pair of pedestals, a vase with lotuses, a pair of large gems and a very indistinct object, that seems to be a sort of dish or flowerstand with incense rising from it. The rest of the relief is all nāga's in two rows, one standing and one

[1]) For this sect see Hoernle in Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics I p. 259—268.
[2]) Compare Laufer, Dokumente der Indischen Kunst I (1913) p. 6—8.

sitting in the foreground, males to the right, females to the left. Most of them hold a gift, among which besides the usual dishes and flowers we see a conch shell and several gems. One of the nāga's is sitting with his back to the spectator and we can see how the sculptor imagined the snake's hood fastened to the body at the back.

112—114. *The Buddha is received in various cities*

> Then the Tathāgata went to Rohitavastu, then to Uruvilvākalpa, then to Aṇāla and then to the city of Sārathi. In all these places the Tathāgata was invited by the heads of families to partake of food and to stay. Thus he came gradually to the banks of the river Ganges (406 : 19).

The Buddha, according to the text, is entertained in four cities and we are given a picture of no less than three receptions. Unrestricted by the text, the sculptor is free to use his own taste in the manner and design of his scene. He gives us three quite distinct reliefs, finely conceived and varying in detail.

112. On this relief the Buddha sits on a plain throne quite to the right under a canopy supported by columns. Near to the left is a pĕndåpå decorated with flowers and garlands, in which on a bench a copious meal is set forth, the large ball of rice in the centre with numerous small dishes round it of sambalans and other delicacies. An umbrella is fixed up in the middle of the pĕndåpå ; on the other side of it three men are seated, two of them with a dish of food or gifts, maybe money bags and fruit for dessert. Then outside the pĕndåpå three women approach, a fourth is kneeling, the front one has a dish with a cake or a wreath, the second an object broken off a stick, perhaps a fly-whisk, the third has a small dish from which something has been knocked off, perhaps a jug. Quite on the left, just to shew it is a city, we see a small building in the simplest style of temple with fly-whisk-ornement on the top.

113. The banquet has not yet begun but the invitation is being given to the Buddha approaching from the right; he stands on the lotus cushion, while a nāga kneeling further on the right holds an umbrella over him. The hosts are on the other side of the Buddha, separated from him by an incense-burner ; they are two men in handsome clothes accompanied by an umbrella-bearer, the front one kneels with his hands on the ground, the second sits, making a sĕmbah. Behind stand two women, one with what looks like a mirror, the other with a fly-whisk. Next we see the throne ready for the Buddha, large and wide, the legs

with small standing lions, and the back with little rampant lions on an elephants head at the sides, on the seat a large cushion with smaller lotus cushion on it, the back of the throne ornemented with arabesques terminating in a makara-head; the canopy spreads above it all, waving with pennons. On the other side of the throne some male and female followers stand and sit; one of the latter holds an incense-burner and fan.

114. This last scene is very simply designed. The Buddha in the centre on an ordinary kind of chair with back, his right hand in vitarka-mudrā; on the left a standard with a perfume homage piled up in a pyramid shape, then the citizens who receive him, men to the right, women to the left, in a standing and a sitting row. Among the men is an umbrella-bearer; the front one sitting holds an incense burner with a handle, the front standing one, a bowl and brush. Several others, especially women[1]), have the usual dishes with food, flowers and other gifts.

115. *The Buddha crosses the Ganges*

> At that time the mighty river, the Ganges, flowed full to its banks. The Tathāgata went to a boatman to be put across, who said to him: "Give me the fare, Gautama." And with the words: "I have no fare, my good man", the Tathāgata flew through the air from one bank to the other. When the boatman saw this, he was dismayed: "I have not set across a man so worthy to be honored. What a misfortune !" and with these words he fell senseless to the ground. Thereupon the boatman told the same to king Bimbisāra: "The monk Gautama, o lord, said when I asked him for the fare: "I have no fare" and flew from this bank to the other through the air." And hearing that, king Bimbisāra from that moment freed all wandering monks from paying for the ferry boat (407 : 1).

In the middle of the relief we see the river with many fishes and some tortoises in it. On the right bank is a landing-place of stone, where the boatman is sitting holding his right hand to his face, either as a gesture of despair or else for looking across the river better. The boat-hook is next to him pushed into the rocky bank; a second person sits behind him, a third and fourth are coming from the right. The two last have

[1]) Pleyte (p 155) is mistaken in thinking there is a yaksī present.

prepared for thee." Thereupon the Tathāgata placed himself upon the seat prepared and the five after discoursing with him on several agreeable and joyful subjects seated themselves apart. There seated, the five of the blessed company spoke to the Tathāgata: "O worthy Gautama, thy senses are wholly subdued to calmness" etc. After these words spake the Tathāgata to the five: "Ye bhikṣu's, address the Tathāgata no more as "worthy one".... I am a Buddha, ye bhikṣu's, omniscient and all-seeing" etc.

And when he had spoken, all signs and tokens of false doctrine fell away from them and the threepiece monk's dress and the almsbowl appeared and their heads were shorn.... At the same time the five of the blessed company fell at the feet of the Tathāgata as bhikṣu's, confessed their fault and recognised him as their Master, to love, honor and respect him. (408 : 6, 14 ; 409 : 5, 8, 17, 21).

The Buddha has seated himself on the chair provided for him, with his lotus-cushion in the middle of the relief, his right hand held in vitarka-mudrā, probably discoursing ; streaks of flame all round him indicate the radiance spoken of in the text. Next to him is, left, an incense-burner, right, a stand but what it held is worn-off ; further, on the right, three, and left, two of the five scholars who have already assumed the appearance of Buddhist monks. The front one, right, holds a lotus. Trees in the background indicate the situation; in the right hand corner sits a hare and two monkeys are sporting in the tree farthest to the left. Under the same tree sit four spectators, some with flowers in their hand ; their headdress has partly disappeared but as far as we can see it was simple in style. Gods or suchlike beings, for instance the Bodhisattva's [1]) present at the first preaching, they are not likely to be, more likely citizens of Benares who have come to look on; at any rate the text does not mention them. It is worth noting besides that on this relief as well, the almsbowl positively mentioned in the text is omitted ; we might almost think that the Javan bhikṣu's made no use of this article in their outfit.

119. *The pupils bathe the Buddha*

Full of respect they performed in a beautiful pool the ceremony of bathing the Tathāgata. (410 : 1.)

[1]) Pleyte (p 160) considers them to be so

There is no doubt about this being a lotus-pond, we see lotus plants growing under and near to the lotus-cushion, on which the Buddha is seated in dhyana-mudrā in the middle of the relief, they are to be found too in the background and sprouting up between the various figures. The five bhikṣu's stand on a small eminence, two on the right, three, left. Those next to the Buddha hold up with both hands a waterpot pouring out a stream on to him; one of the others holds the Master's clothes on a tray and the last two, bowls of flowers. In spite of the clothes held ready, the Buddha is of course not naked in the bath but wears his ordinary monk's garment. Some four other persons are present, recognisable as nāga's who belong to the pond, here quite appropriate, through not spoken of in the text. Two stand on the right, a male with an umbrella, a female with lotusflowers; on the left a pair is seated, the nāga holding a perfumestand and the nāgī making a sĕmbah.

120. *The first preaching*

After coming out of the bath the Tathāgata bethought himself: "Where did the former Tathāgata's, the arhat's who attained perfect Wisdom, cause the wheel of the Law to revolve?" At the place where the former Tathāgata's had set the wheel of the Law in motion there appeared a thousand thrones made of seven gems. And when the Tathāgata out of respect for the former Tathāgata's had paced round three thrones turning the right side, he seated himself on the fourth like a lion without fear, his legs crossed. And the five bhikṣu's after paying homage to the Buddha's feet with their heads, sat down in front of him.

At that same moment came from the East, South, West and North, from the zenith and the nadir, everywhere from the ten points of the winds many koṭi's of Bodhisattva's who had attained the fulfilment of a former vote, they fell at the feet of the Tathāgata and besought him to set the wheel of the Law in motion. And whatever other gods there were in this complex of three thousand great thousands of worlds, Çakra or Brahmā or the Guardians of the world, or whatever other gods sons, mighty of the mighty, they all fell at the Tathāgata's feet bending their heads and besought him to set the wheel of the Law in motion.

> In the first watch of the night, the Tathāgata kept silence, in the second he held an exhalting discourse. In the last watch of the night he addressed the five of the blessed company in these words.... (410 : 3 ; 413 : 8 ; 416 : 13).

It is of course useless to quote the first preaching that now follows, any more than what in the second part is addressed specially to Maitreya. Besides among the audience on this relief there is none to be distinguished as Maitreya, so the sculptor evidently intends to depict the preaching to the disciples, the first revelation of the new doctrine of salvation for mankind in this world. The Buddha here sits on his lotus-cushion on a richly-ornemented throne, the high back of which terminates in makara-heads resting on small columns. Above his head hovers an umbrella, the only remnant of the decorations put up in the air by the gods, flags, banners etc. mentioned in a passage of the text we have not quoted as it was for the rest unnoticed by the sculptor. (413 : 4). The right hand has been knocked off, but we can see by the left one which rests on his lap, that the pose of the Buddha has *not* been dharmacakra-mudrā, and this is strange when the text specially mentions the offering of a "dharmacakra" (415 : 9 etc.), but in agreement with the Gandhāra tradition. [1]) The attitude was probably vitarka-mudrā. Next to the Buddha's throne, on each side, is a stand, on the left with wreaths and a lotus flower, the right one being quite indistinct.

The audience sits on both sides. On the left in the front are the five bhikṣu's, the first one holding a lontar-leaf, and furthest to the left one of the Bodhisattva's and gods, the rest of whom all sit on the right. Some make a sĕmbah, a few carry a flower. On clouds in the air heavenly ones come flying from both sides, partly very much damaged, but the front ones are going to pay their homage with a dish of wreaths. Naturally this relief omits the pair of gazelles or the small wheel that on separate representations in the Indian art as well as at Mĕndut [2]) are thought necessary to indicate that the first preaching at Benares, not any ordinary one, is meant; a distinction not here needed, where this relief is the last of a whole series and cannot be taken for anything but the first sermon.

We may pass over the numerous representations of the first preaching in further Buddhist art, in which the conception is symbolic and the

[1]) See Foucher A G B I p. 432 The whole argument (p. 427—435) is very important, also where it has no direct connection with the Barabudur representation

[2]) The author's Inleiding Hindoe-Javaansche kunst (1923) I p. 318.

Master replaced by cakra, triçūla or vardhamāna, a peculiarity that made its way even into Gandhāra. [1]) But the Buddha himself also appears in Gandhāra [2]), Amarāvatī [3]), Sarnāth [4]), Magadha [5]), and Serindia [6]) ; his audience consists sometimes of gods only, other times, the same as at Barabuḍur, there are monks and gods together, very occasionally we find only a couple of bhikṣu's. Naturally in all cases we find the Master in the middle with the seekers after salvation grouped around him.

"Here endeth çrī-Lalitavistara, the sūtra of the Mahāyāna, king of jewels" [7]). And with this, as regards Barabudur, the life-story of the Master, for it is a remarkable fact, which will be explained elsewhere [8]), that nothing more [9]) of the Buddha's further life nor the parinirvāṇa appears on the monument.

[1]) Mahābodhi pl 8 (A G B I fig 221); Sānchi T S W pl 29, A G B II fig 475 p 391; Gandhāra A G B I fig 218 p 431, Amarāvatī T S W pl 71, Burgess pl 12, 38, 46, 48, A G B II ibid

[2]) A M I pl 30, 96, 147, A G B I fig 220 p 433; J I.A I pl 10; B A I fig 96

[3]) Burgess pl. 15 For Ajaṇṭā see Foucher, Lettre p 225

[4]) A G B I fig 209 p 413, II fig 498 p 539, fig 507 p 563; A M I pl 67 and 68, Journ Roy As. Soc 1907 II pl 4

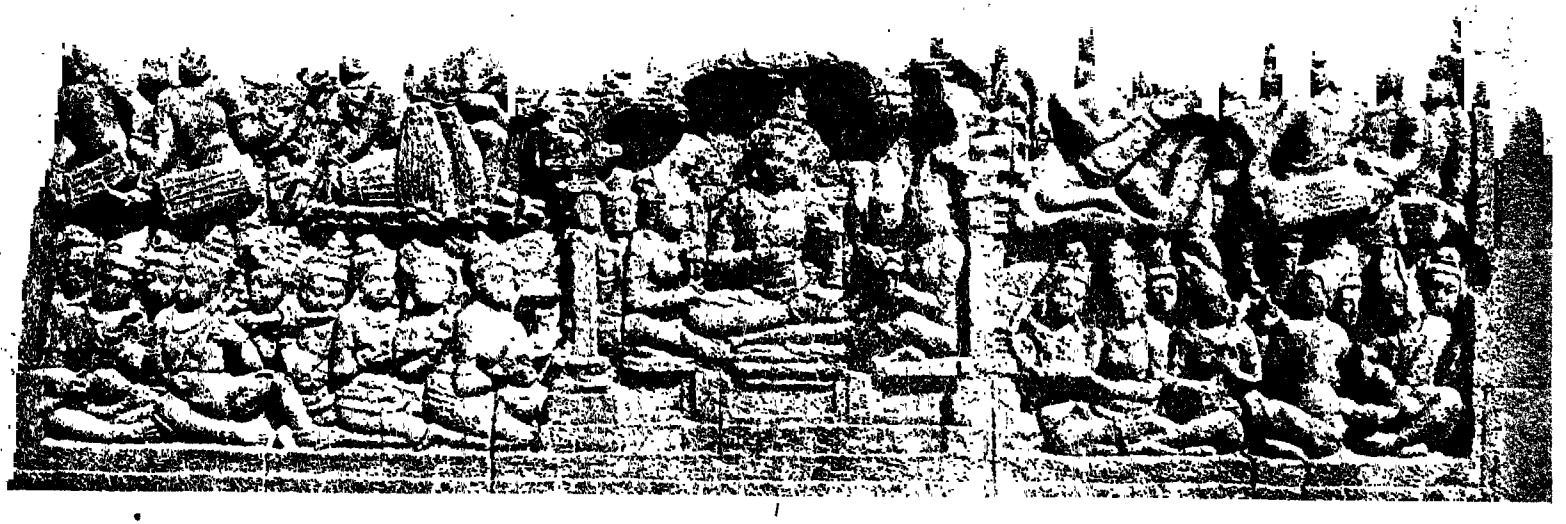
[5]) A G B II fig 500 p 545

[6]) Grunwedel, Altbuddh Kultst Turk fig 353 (A G B II fig 523 p 605)

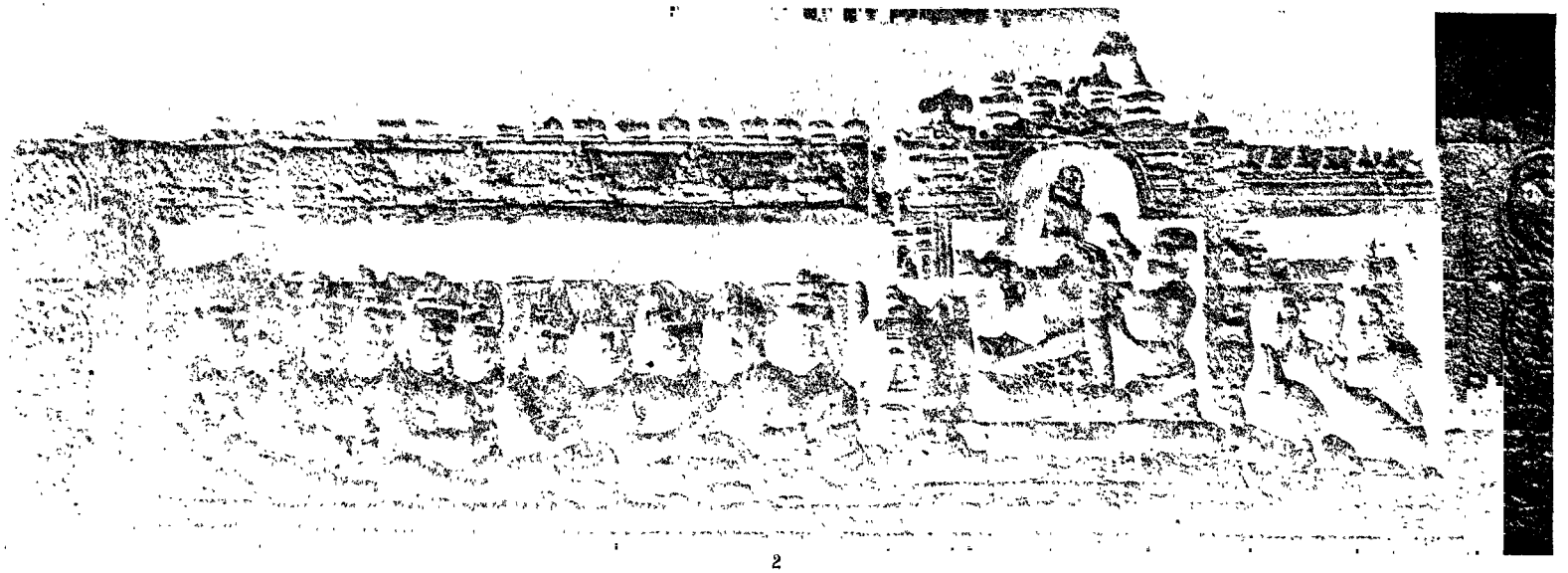
[7]) Last words of the text (444 18)

[8]) In the last chapter of the Barabuḍur-monograph

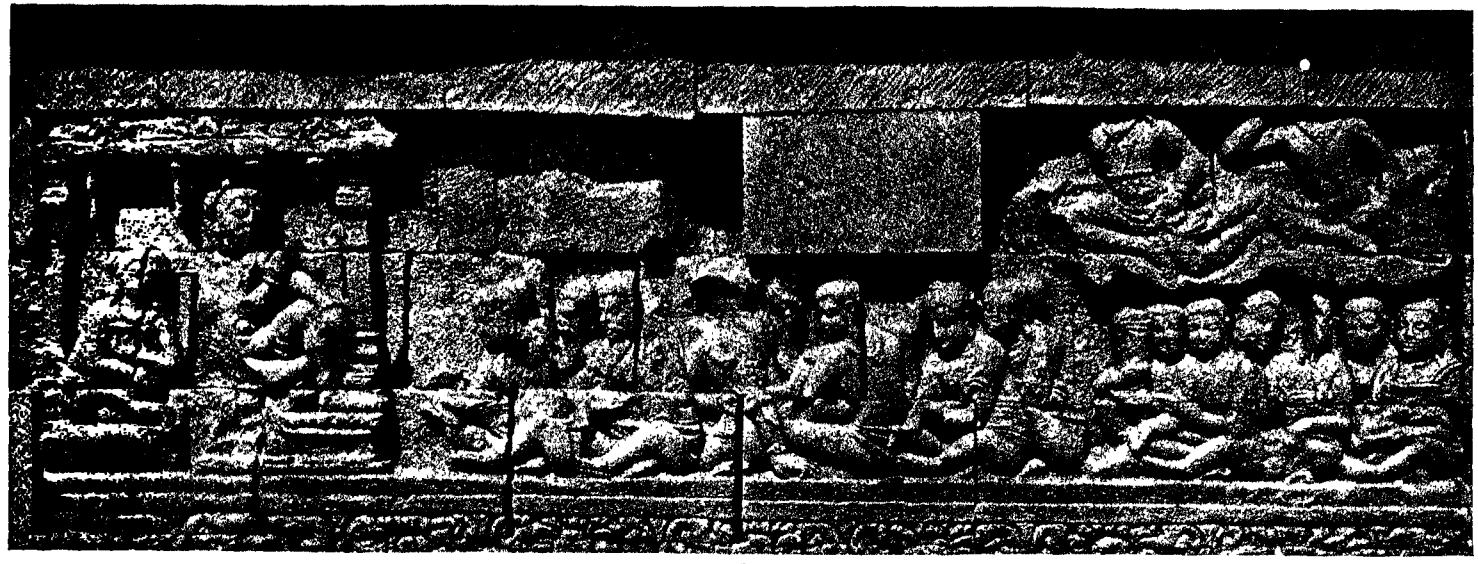
[9]) The Avidurenidāna at Pagān ends already with the Sambodhi, see Seidenstucker p 18



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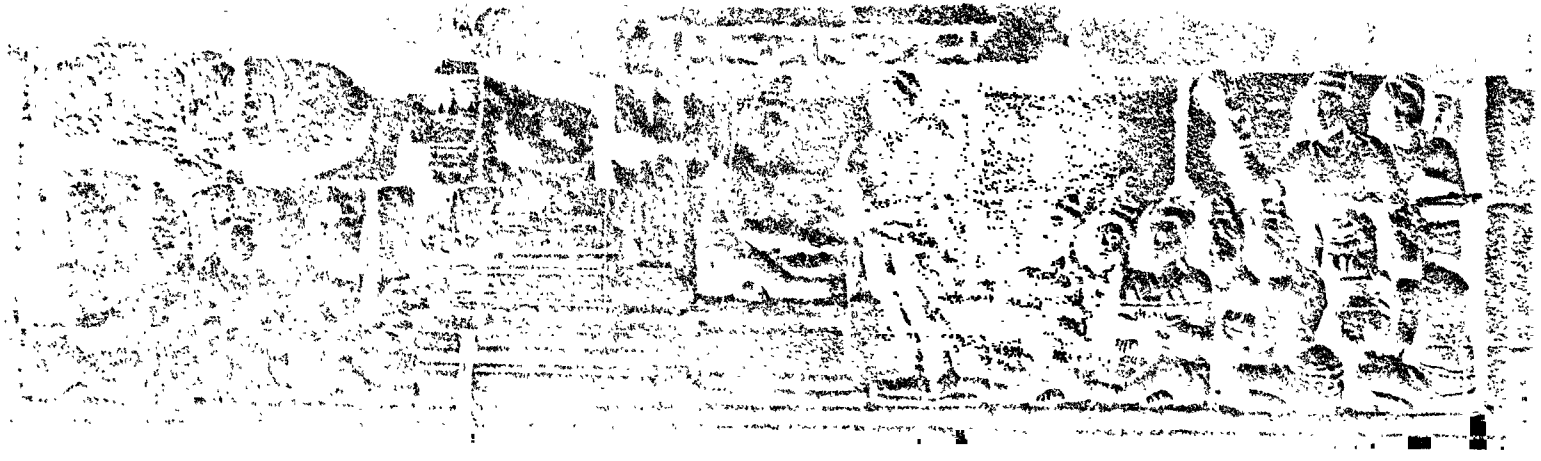
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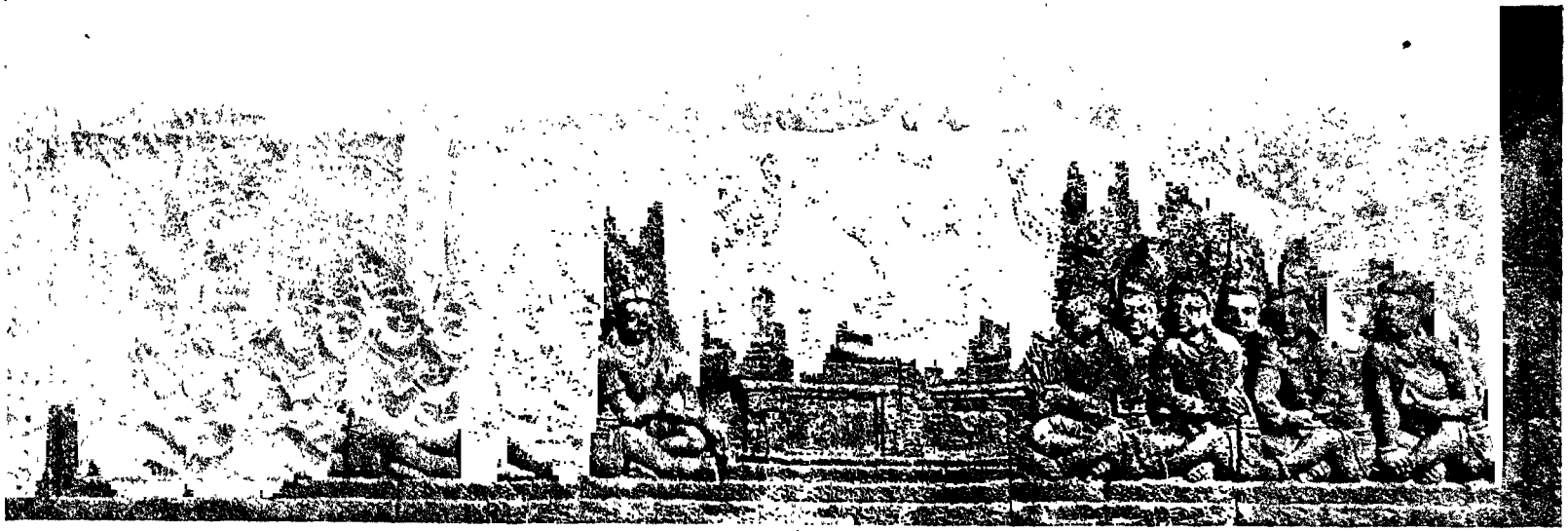
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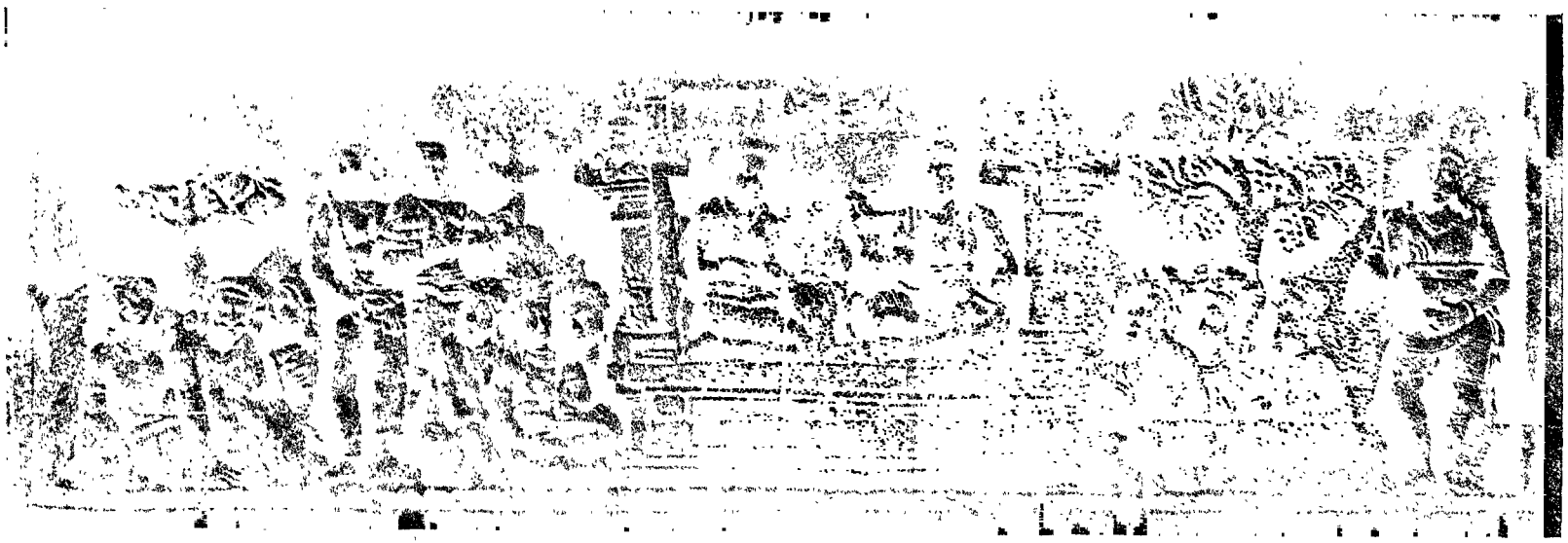


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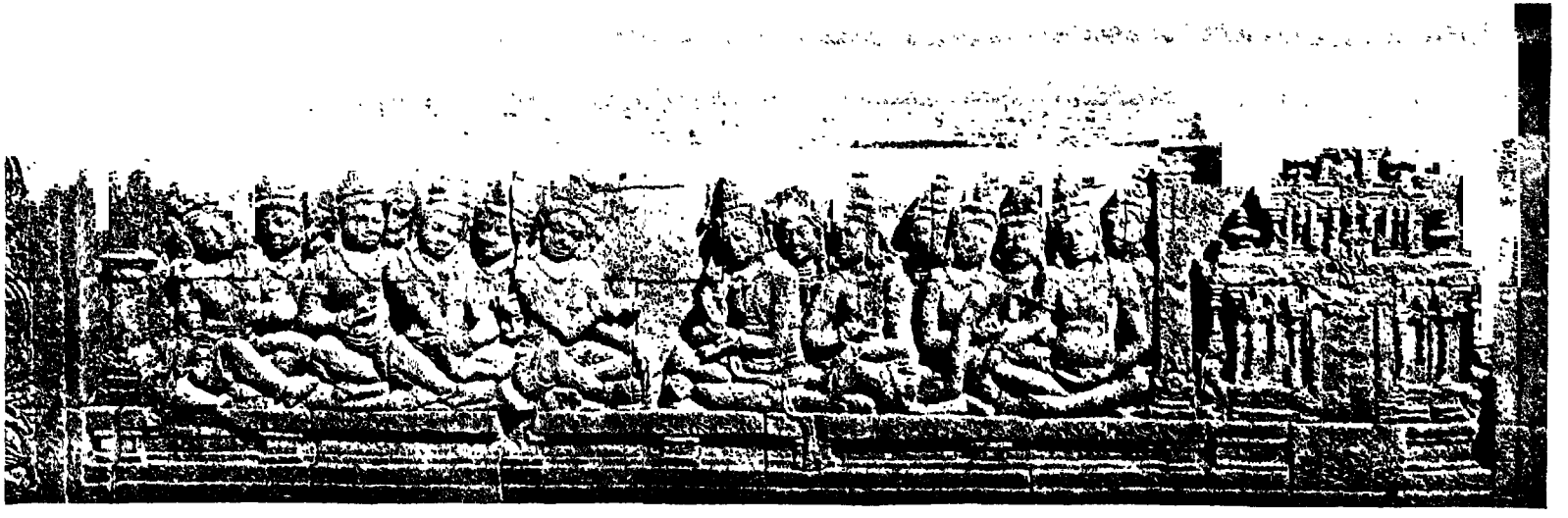


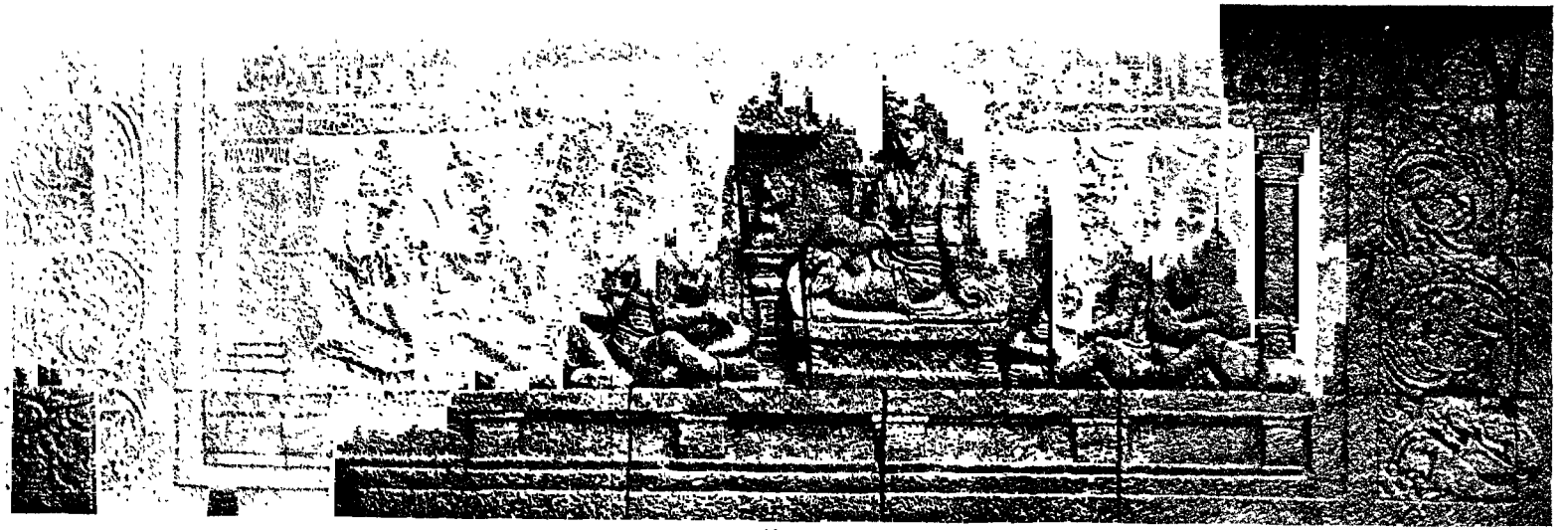
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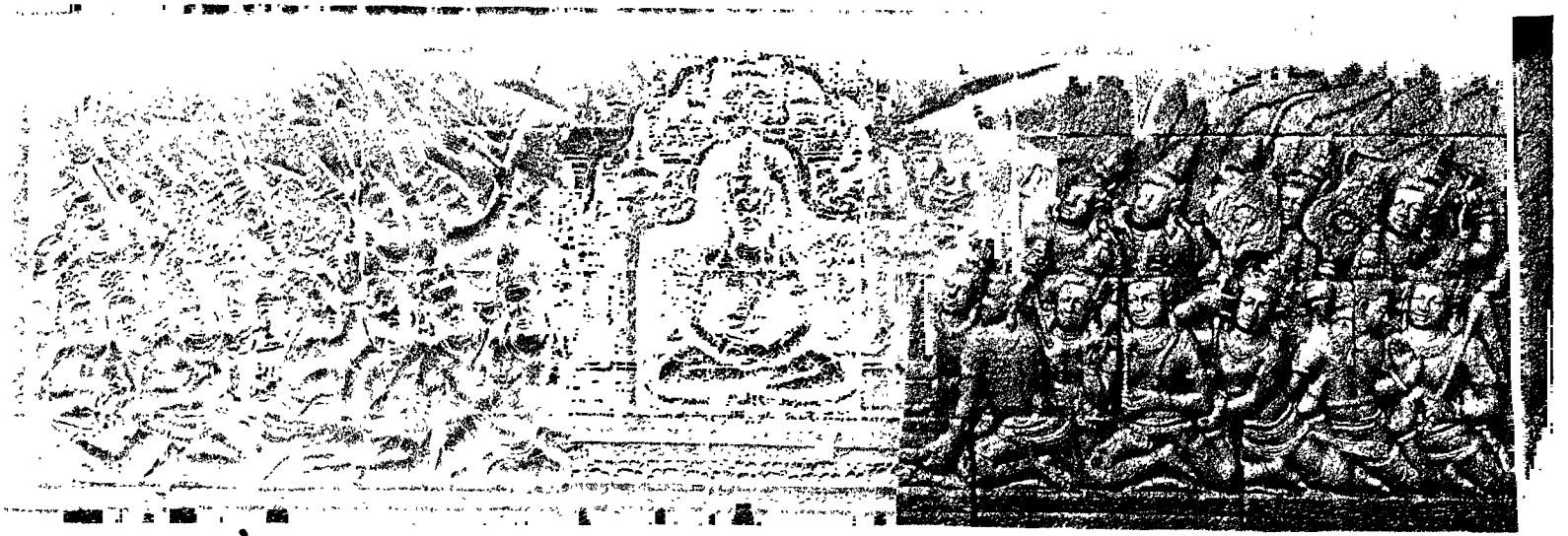




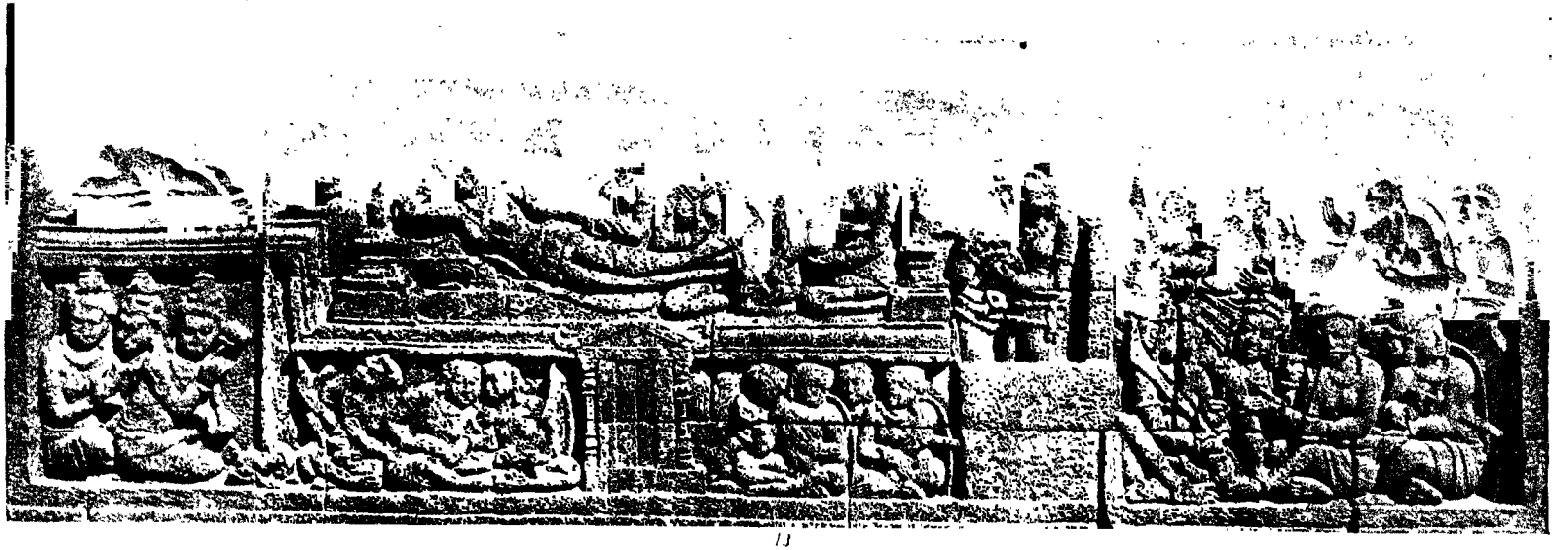




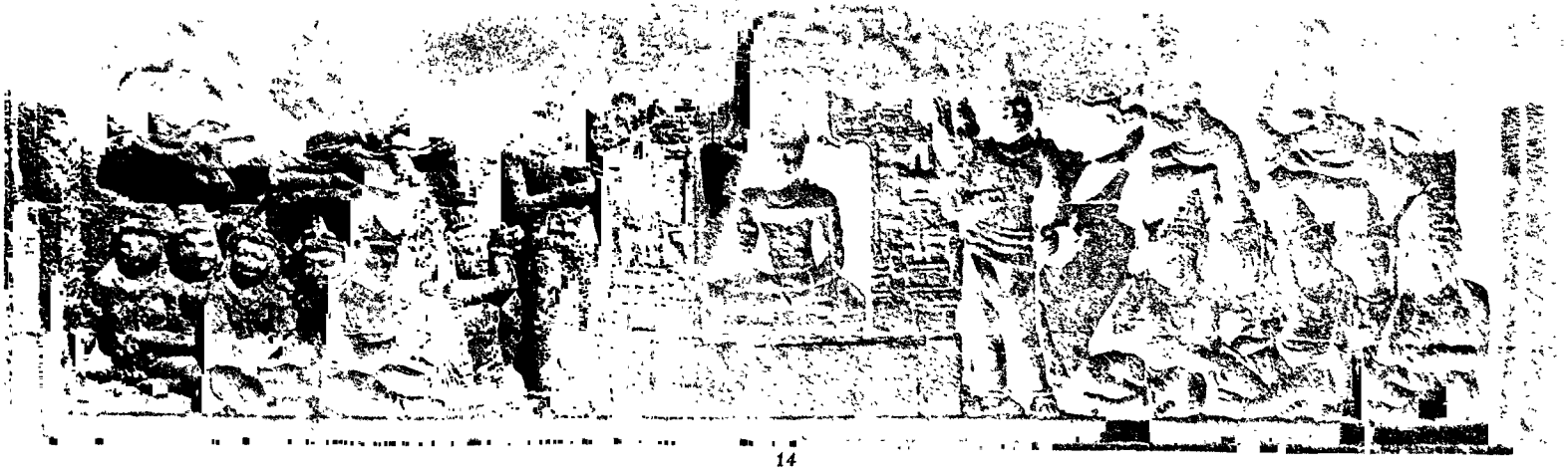
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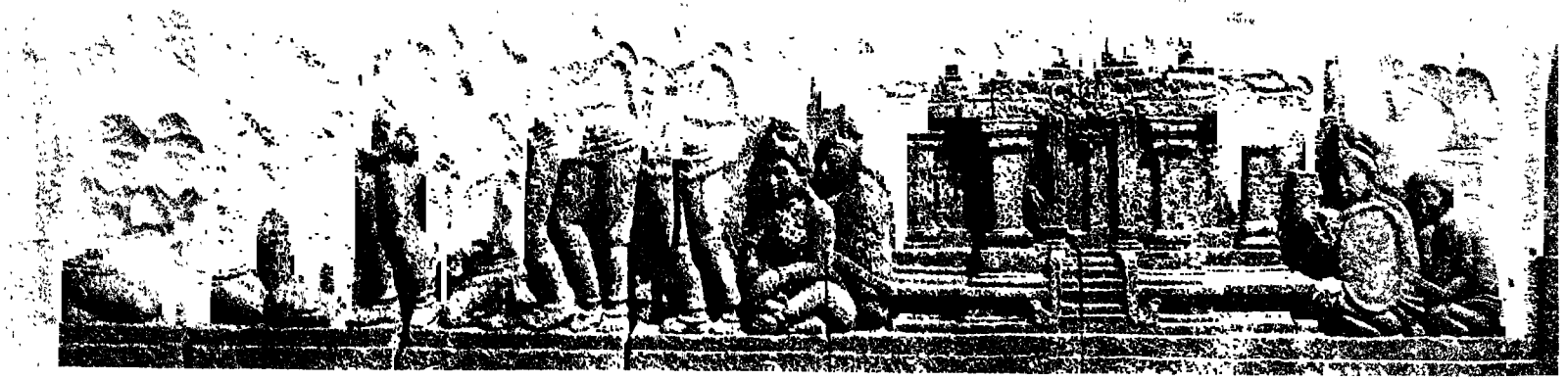
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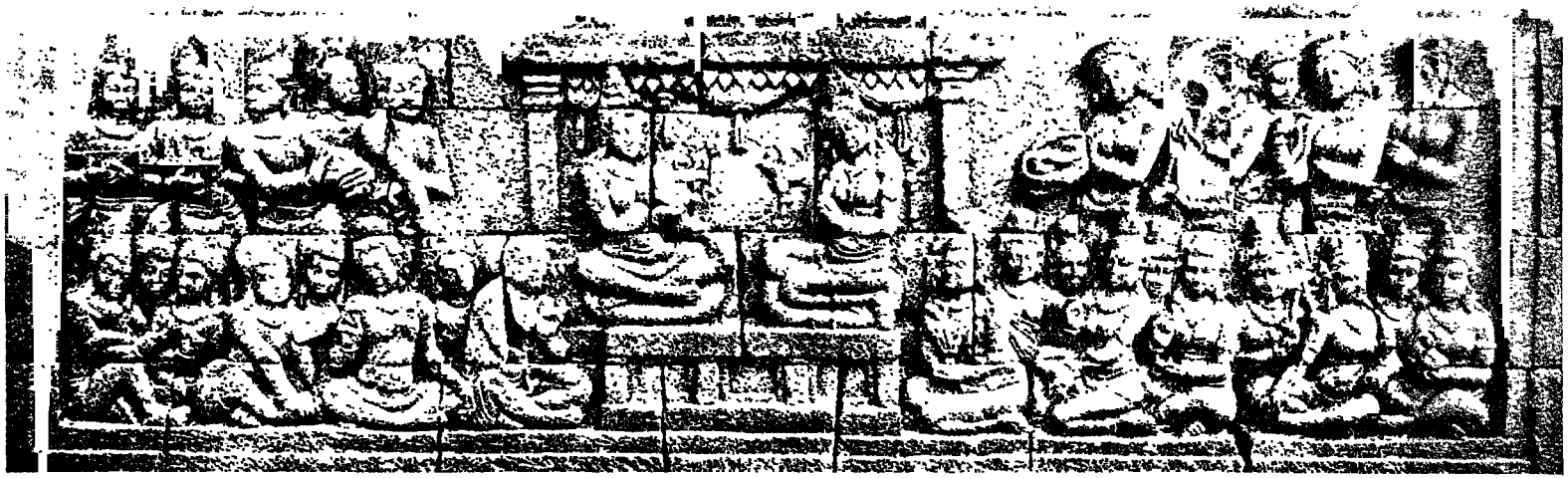
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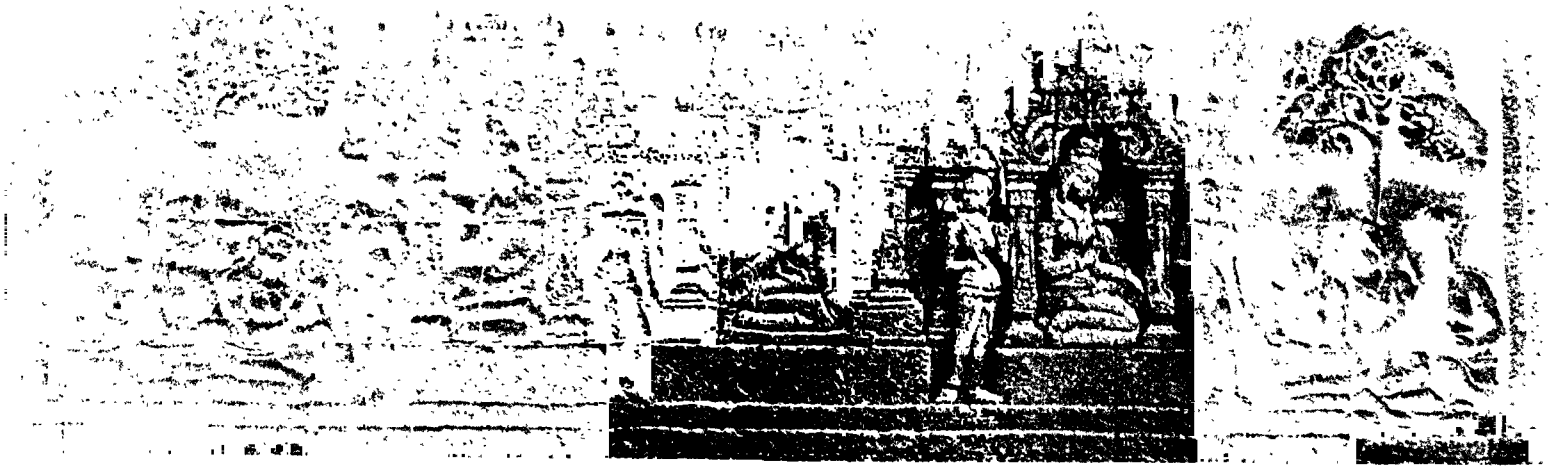
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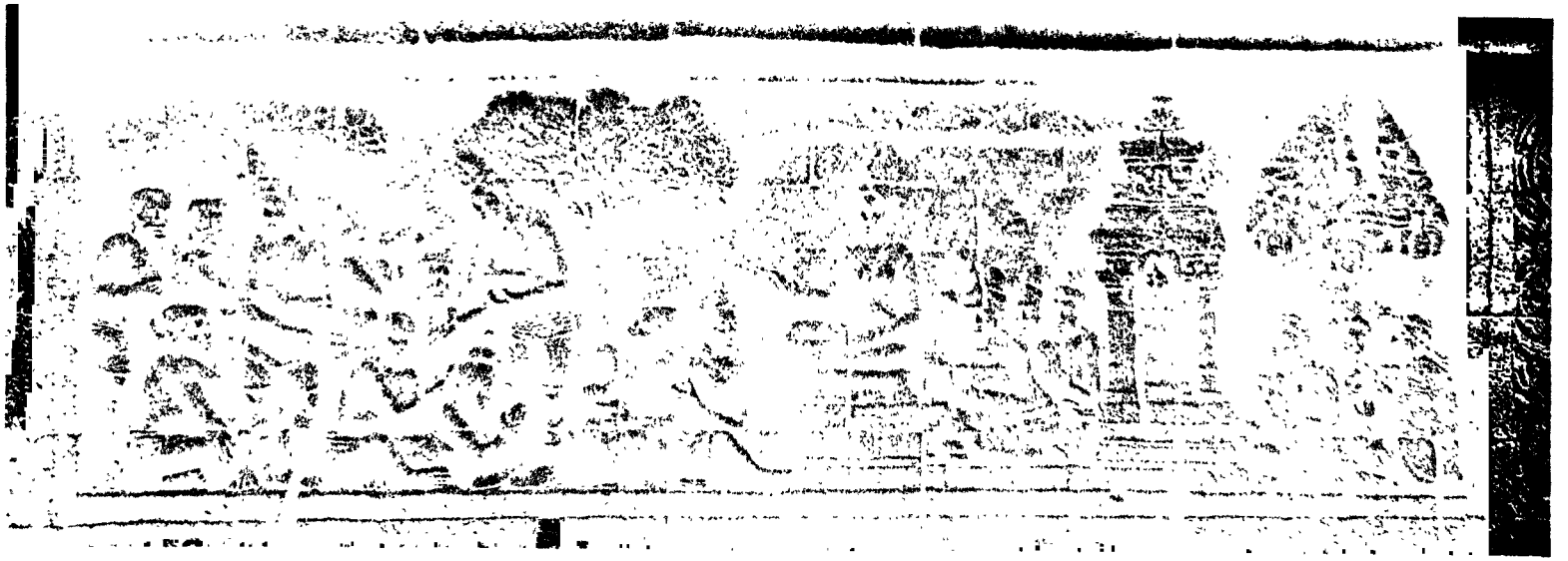
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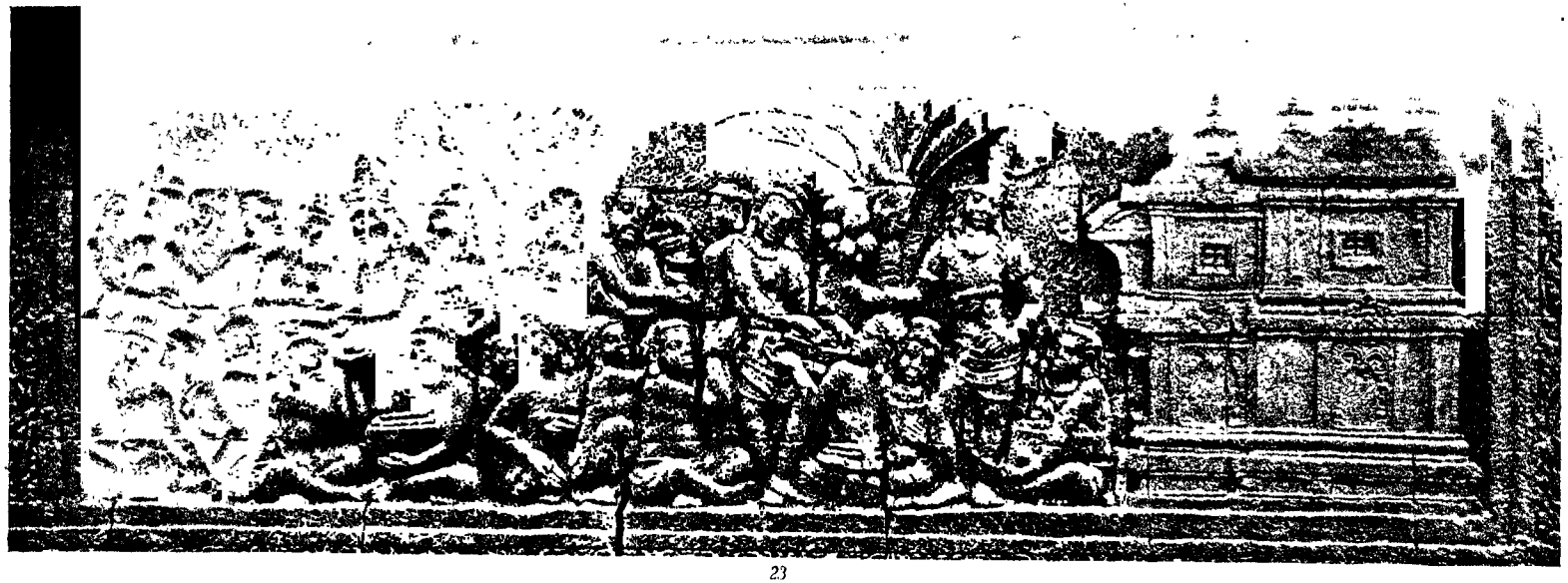




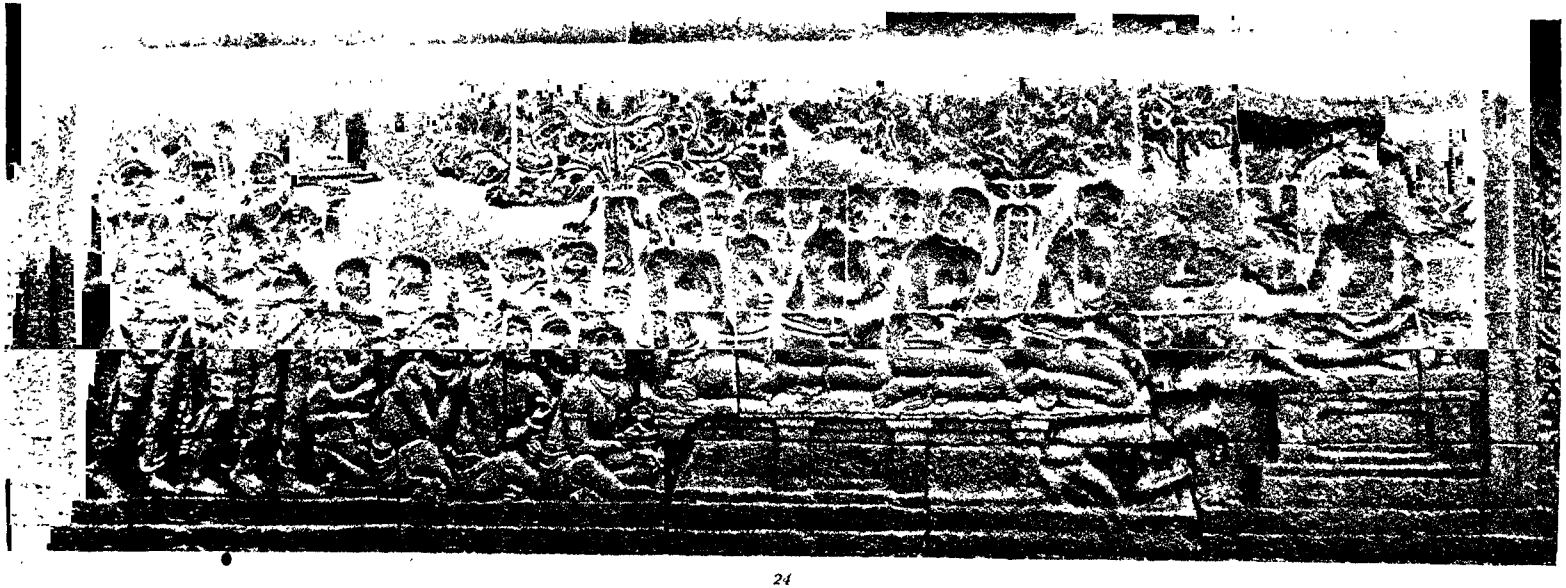
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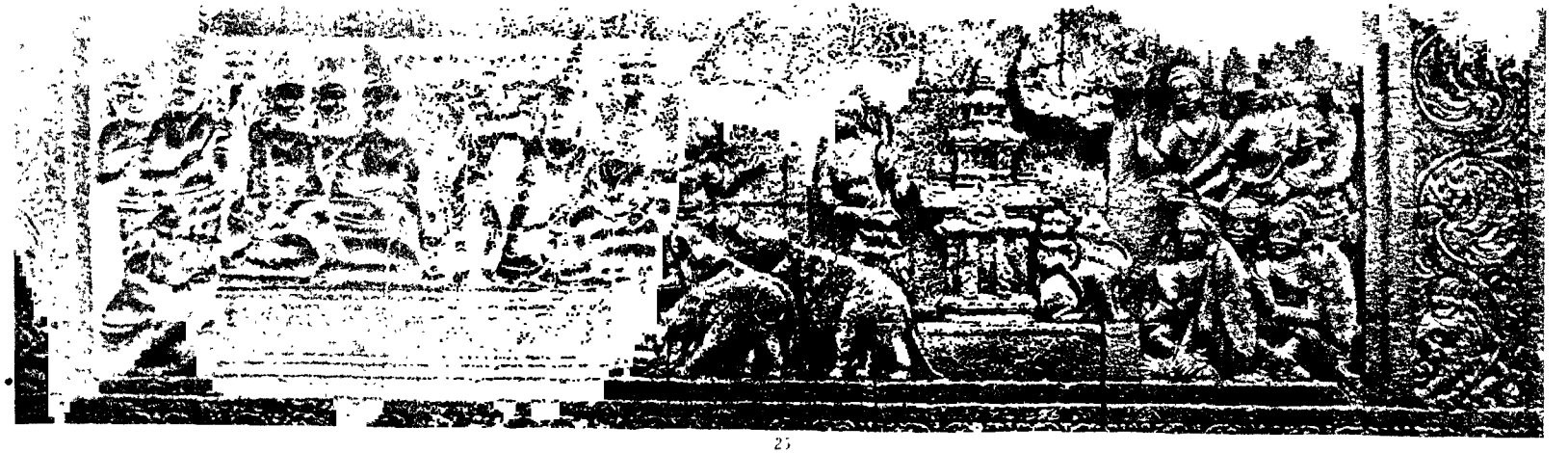
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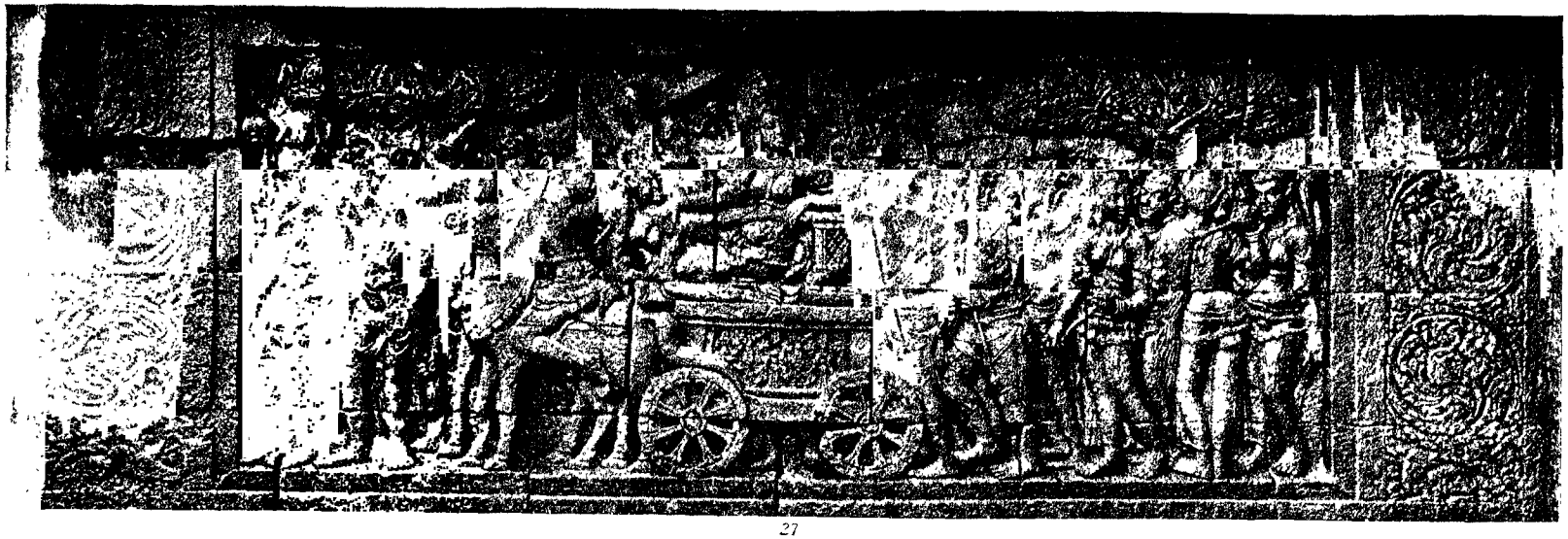
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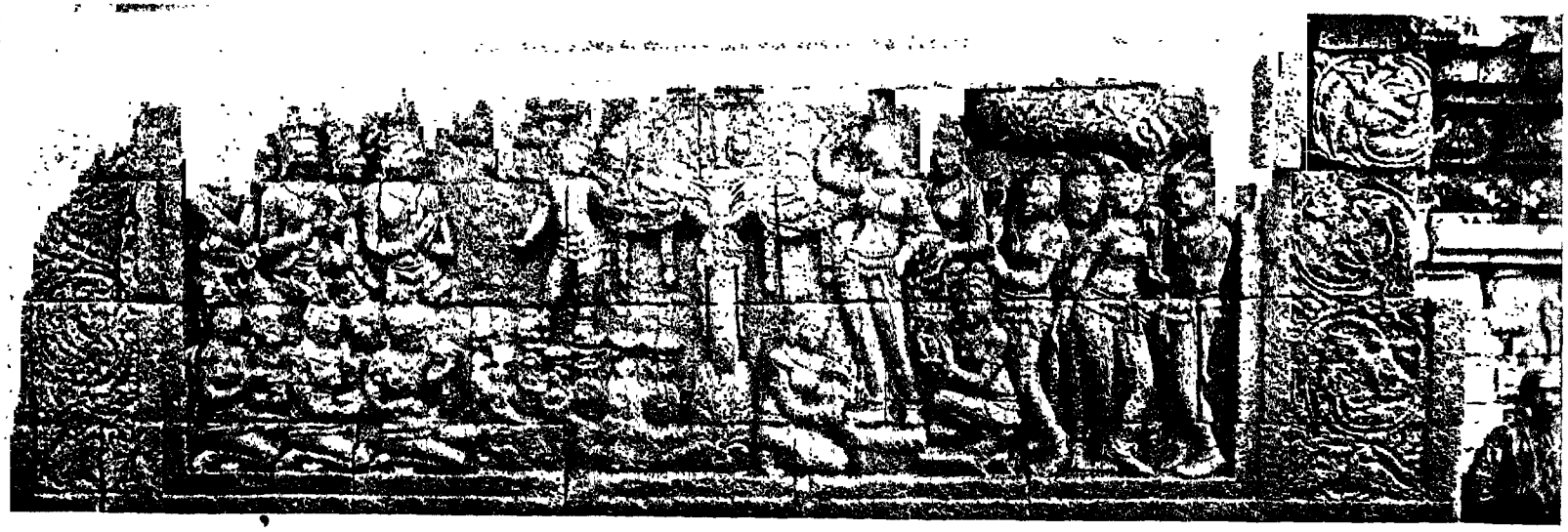
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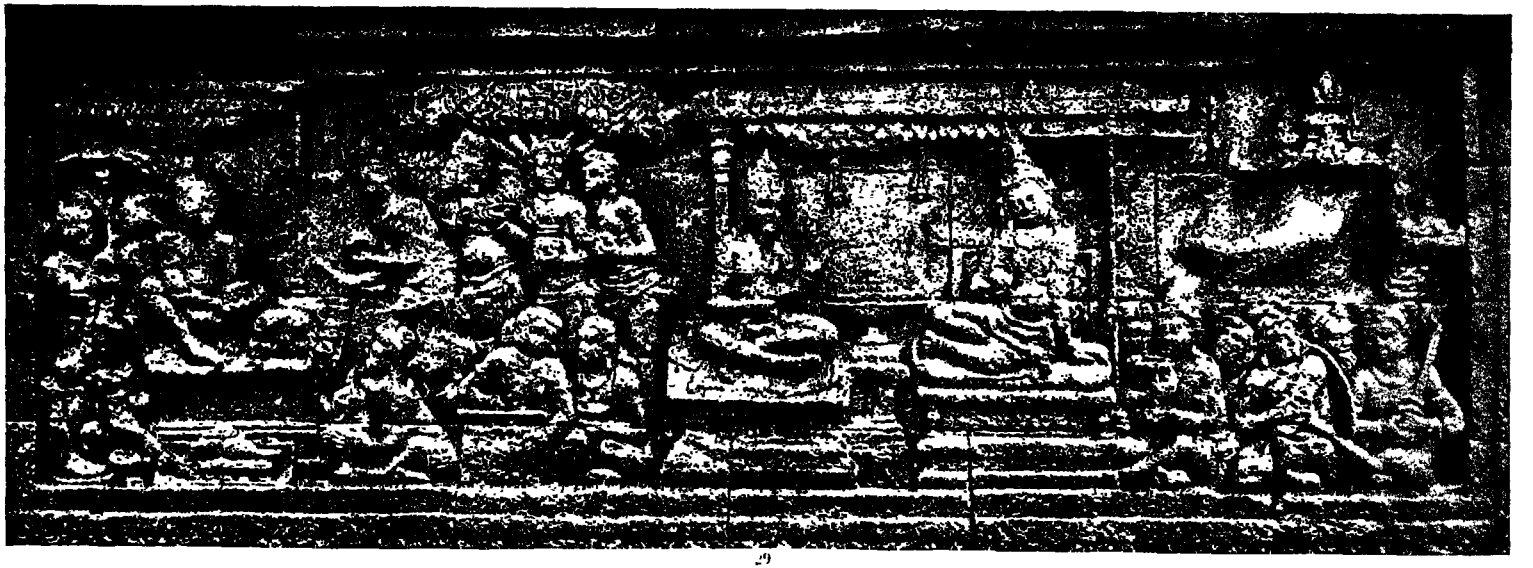
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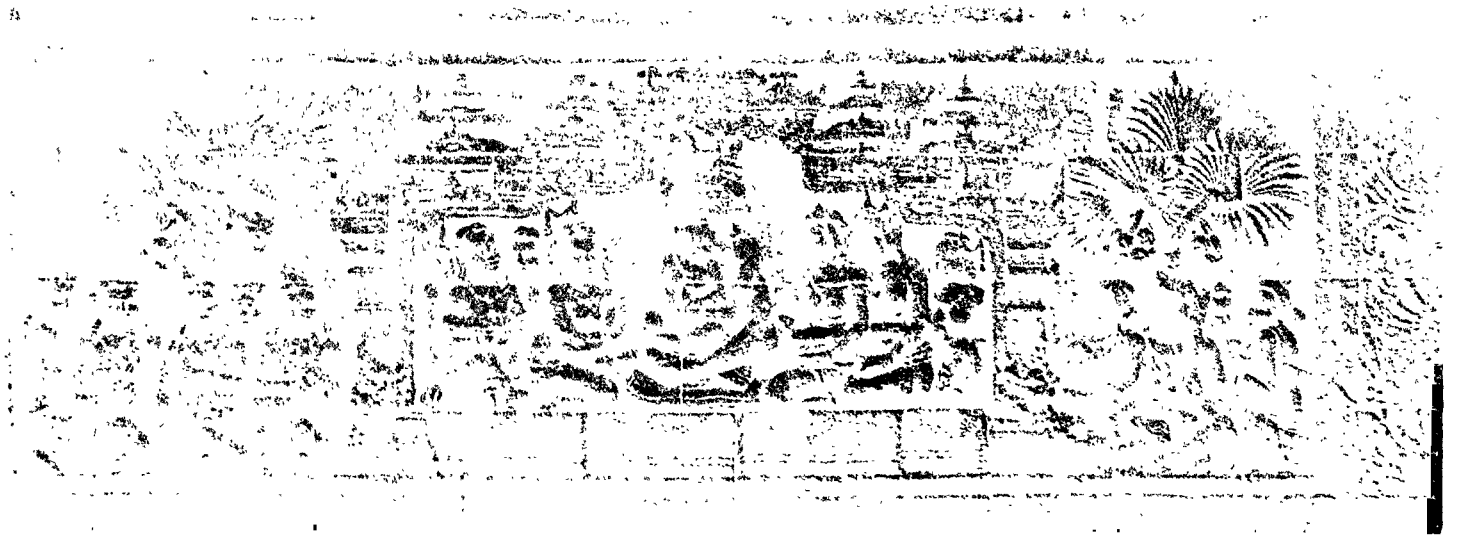
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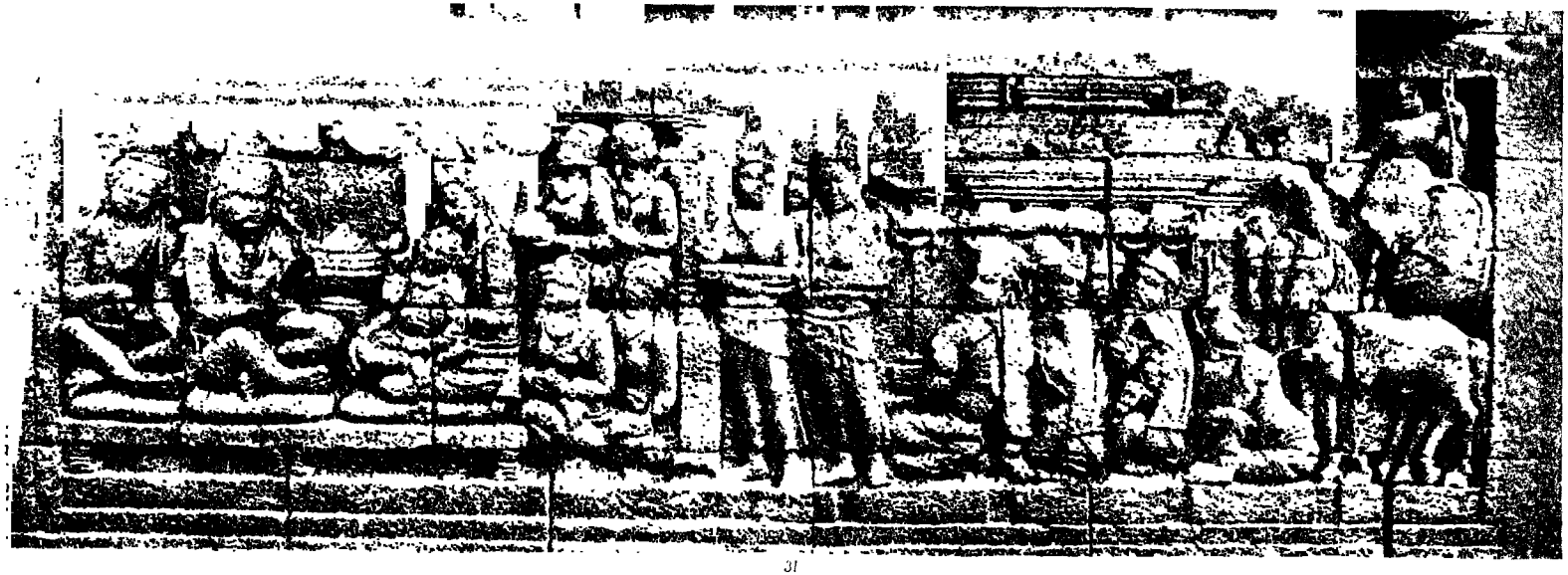
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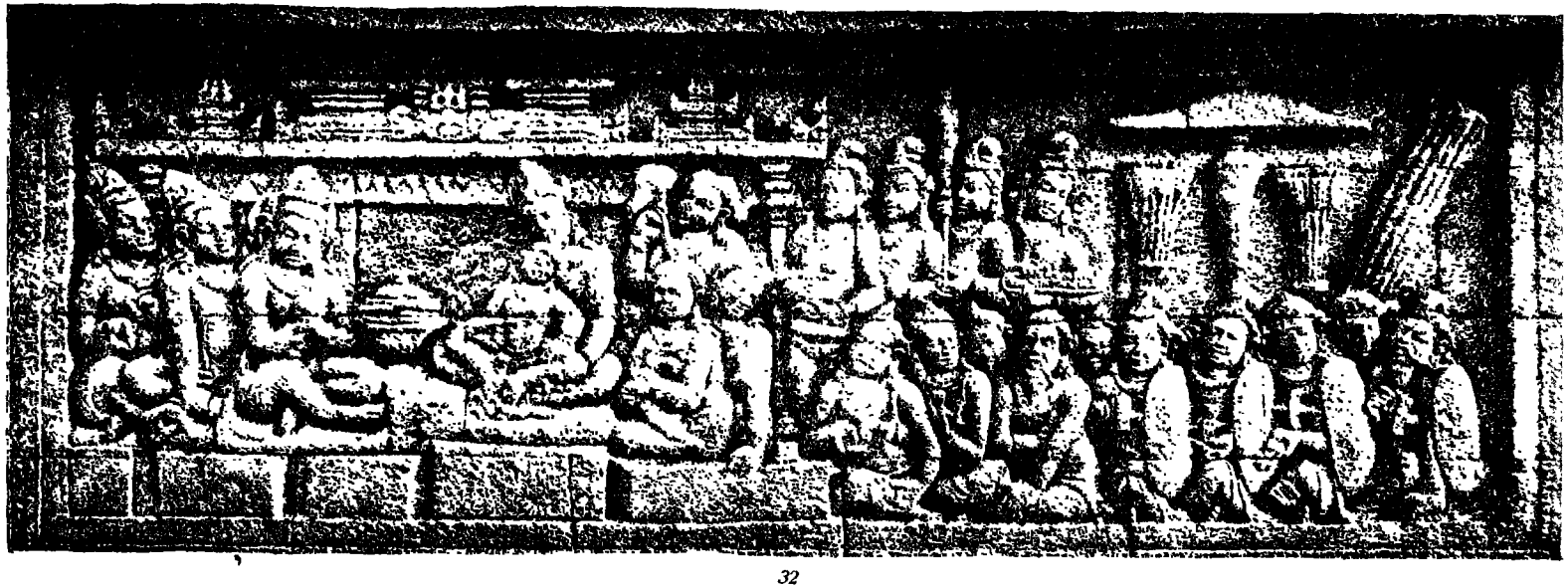
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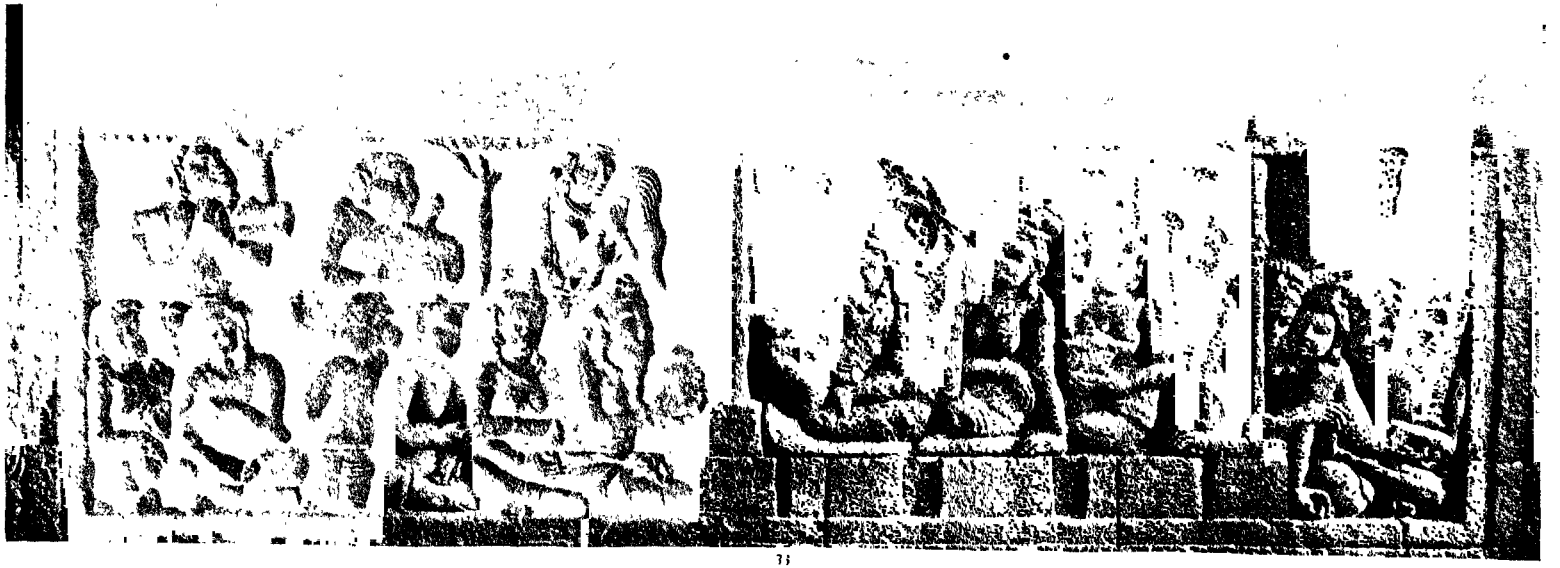
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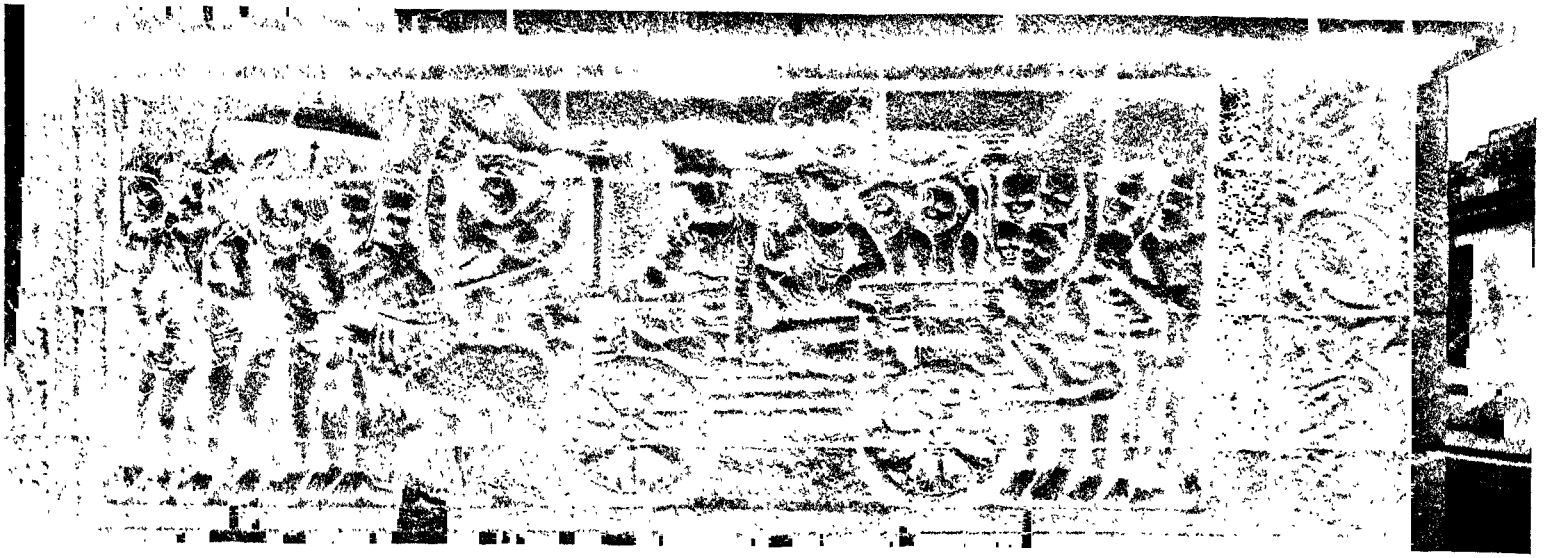
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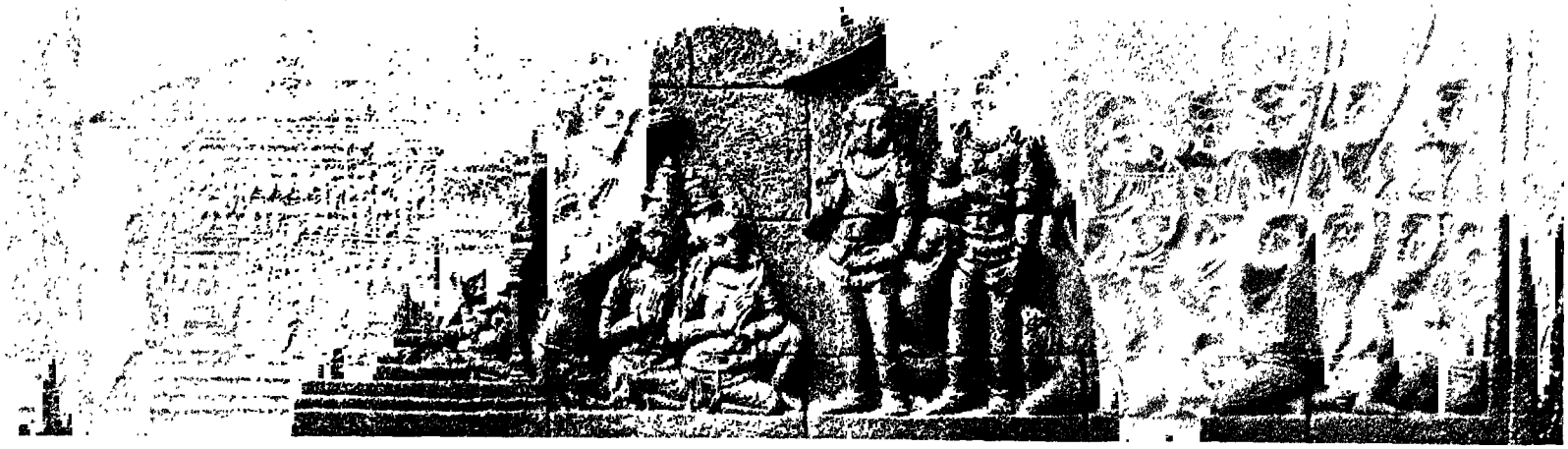
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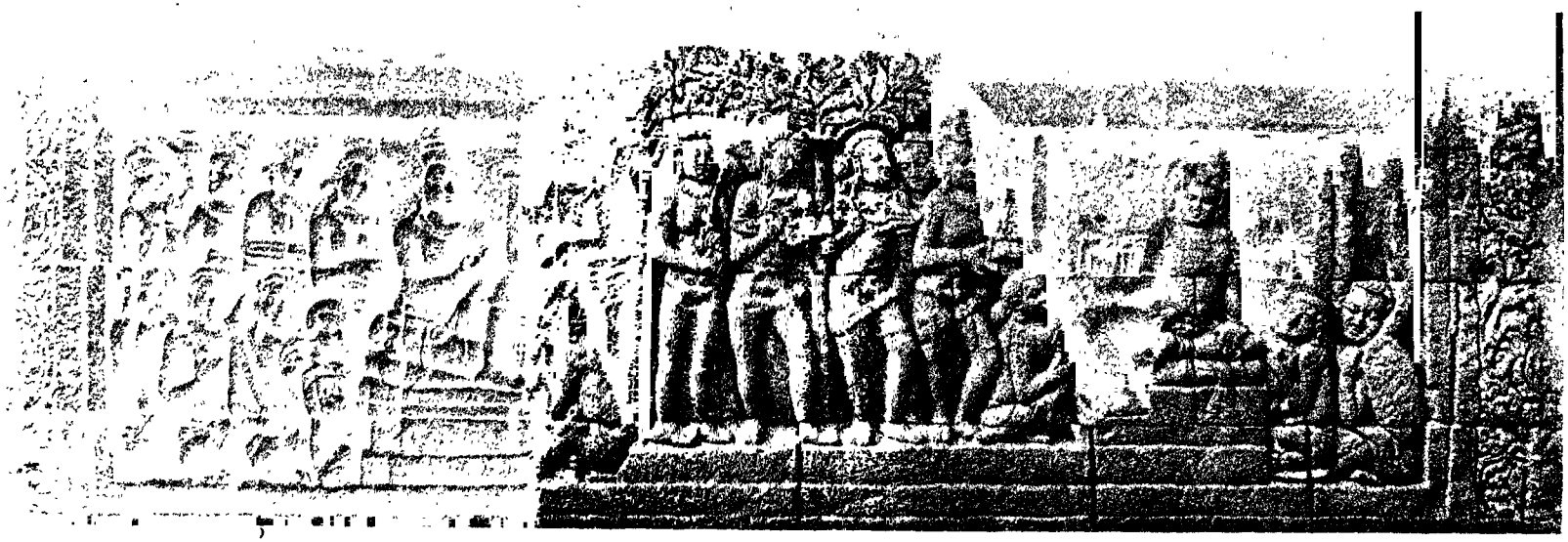
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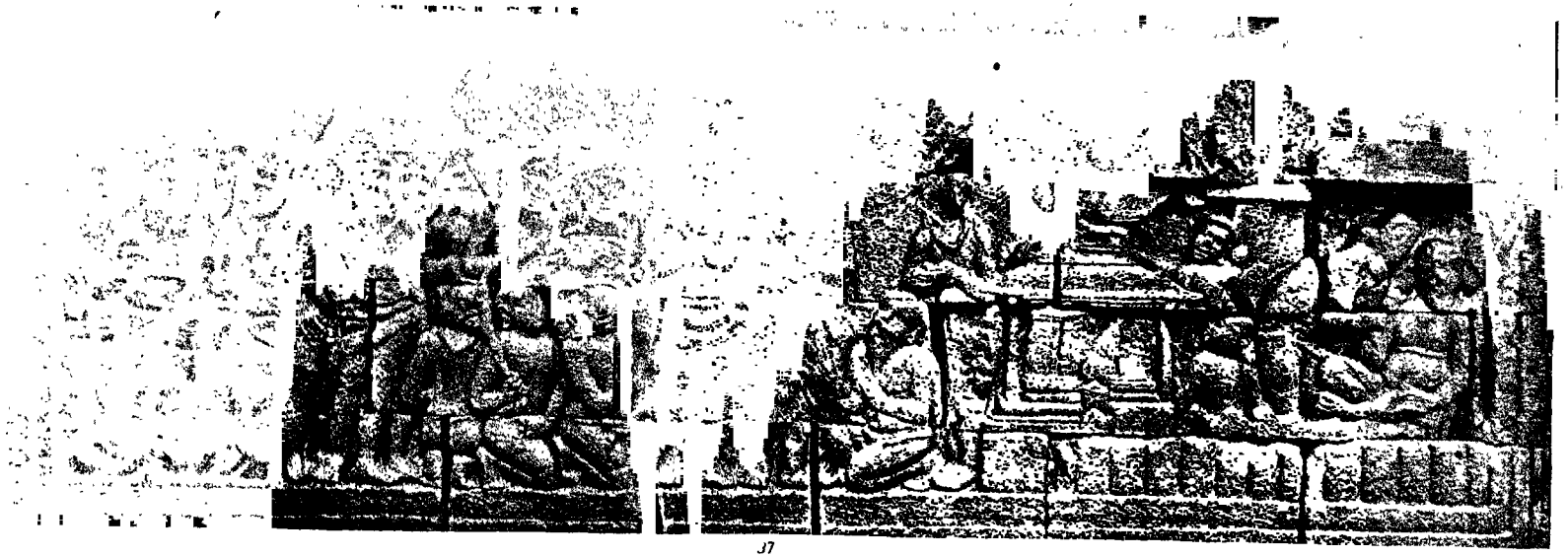
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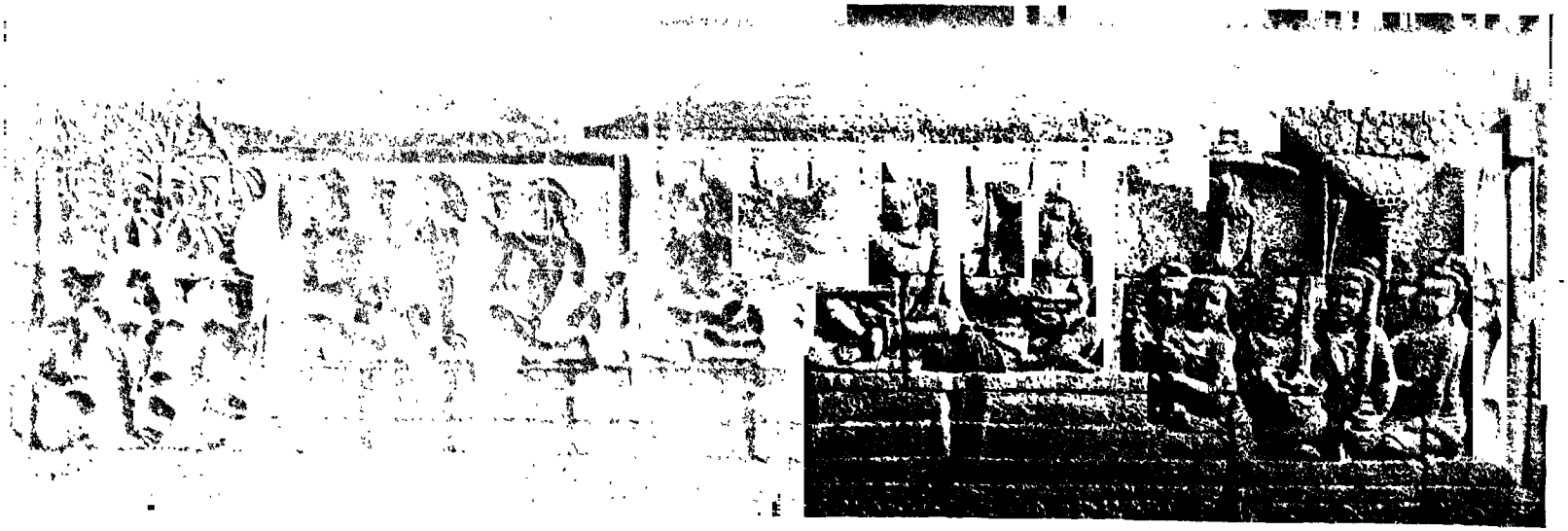
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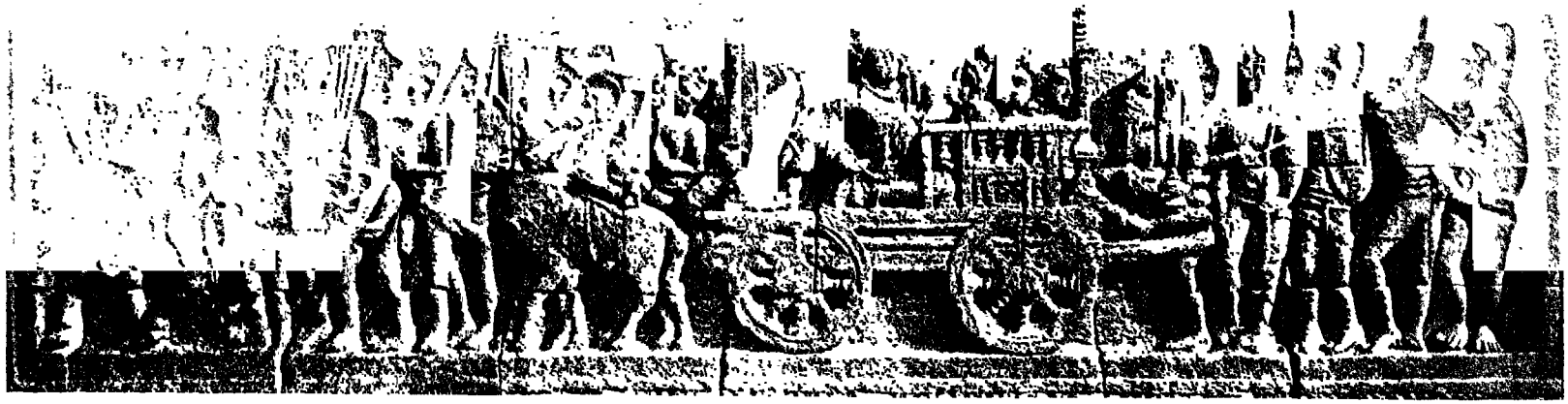
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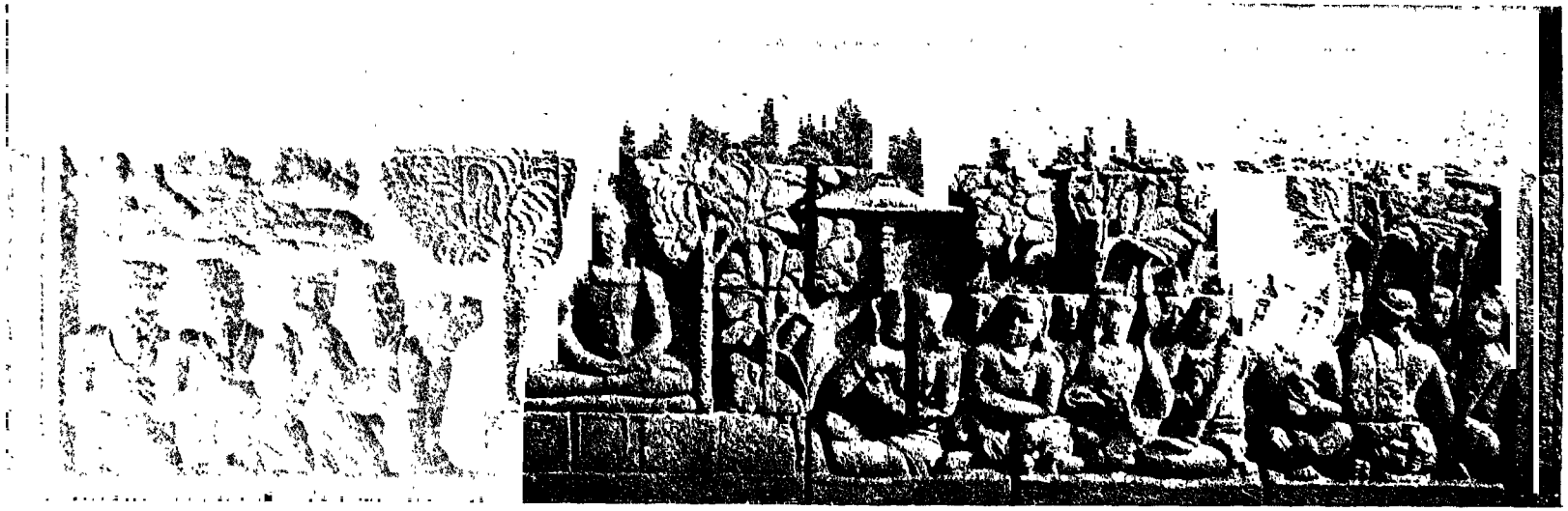
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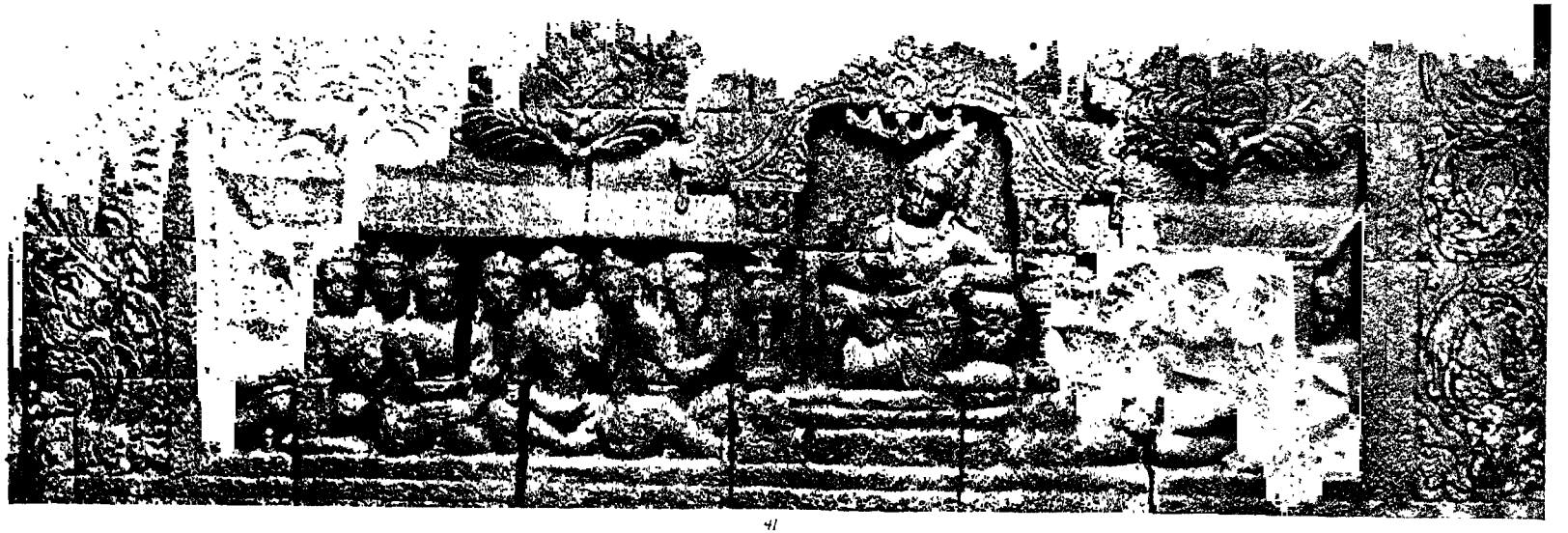
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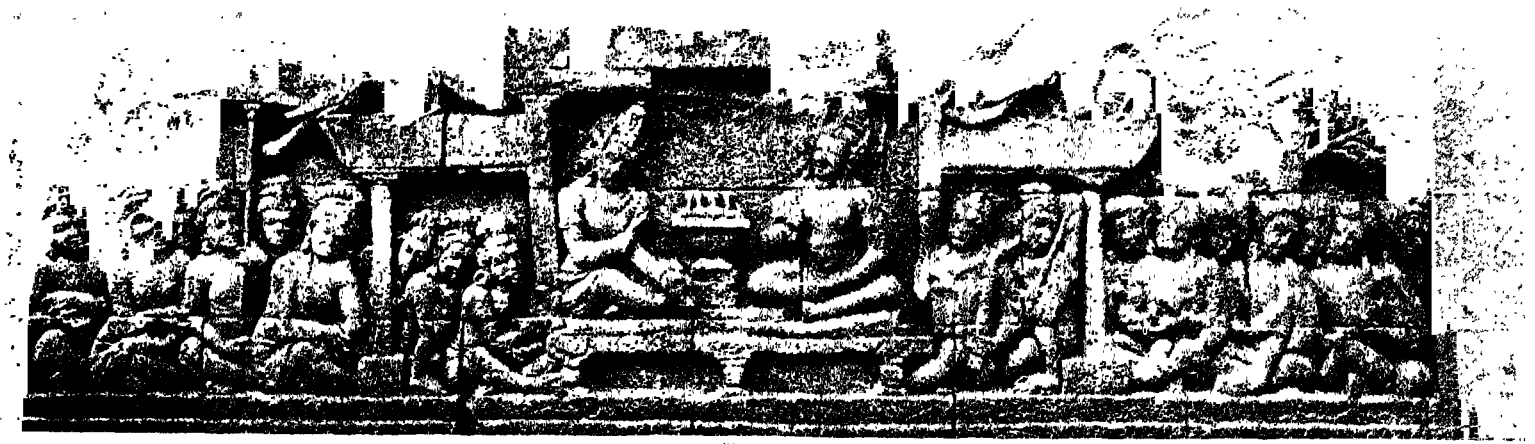
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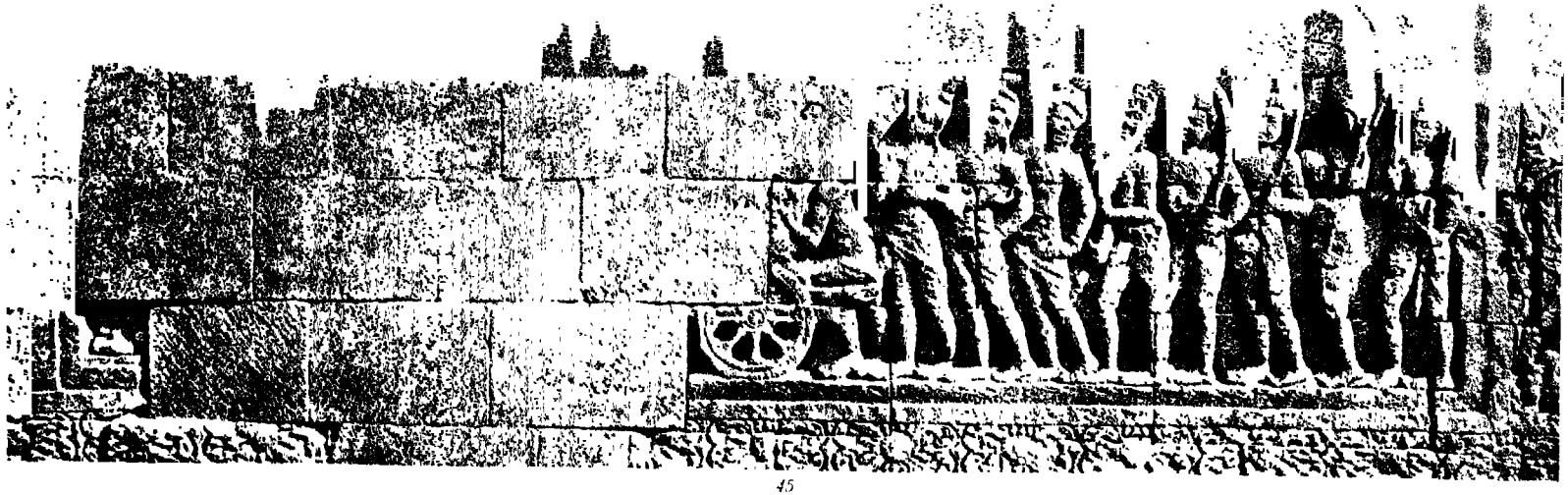
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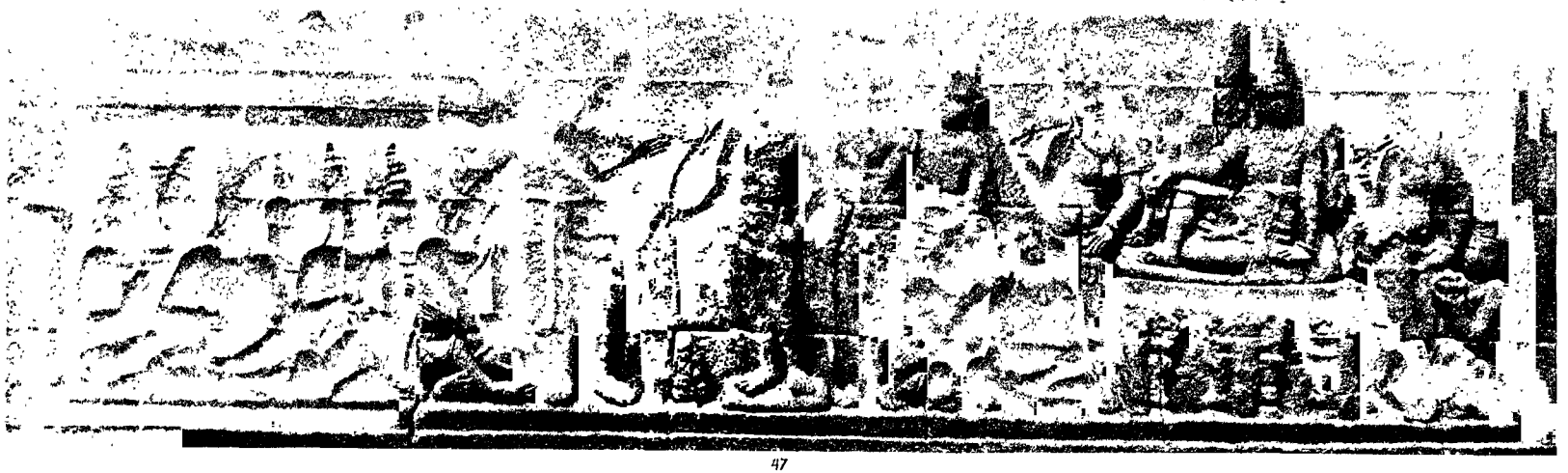
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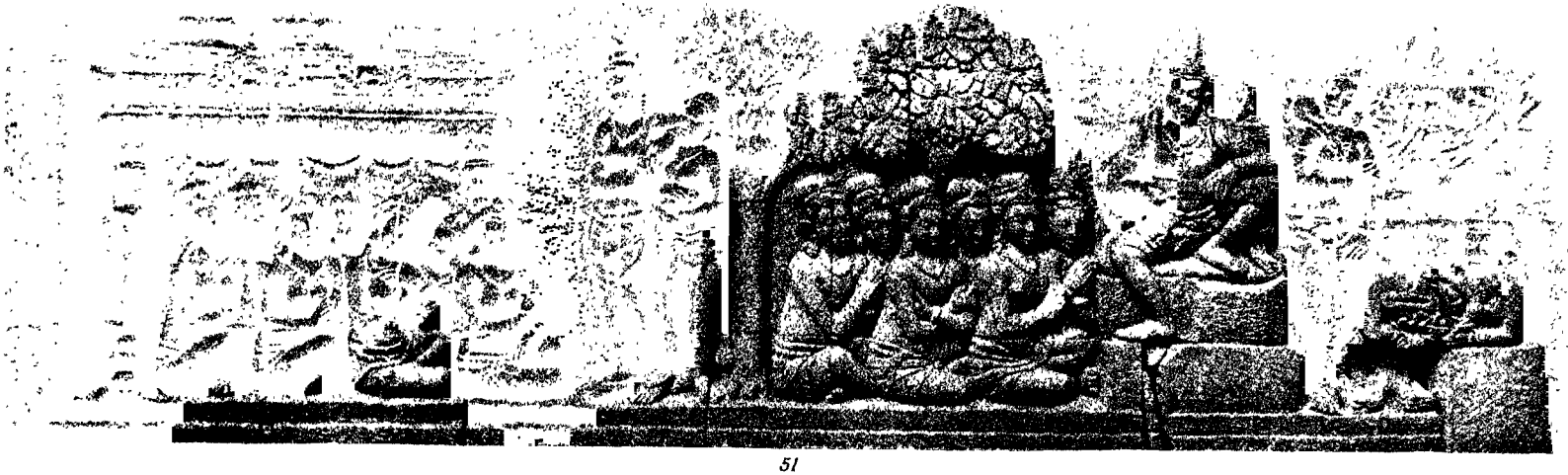
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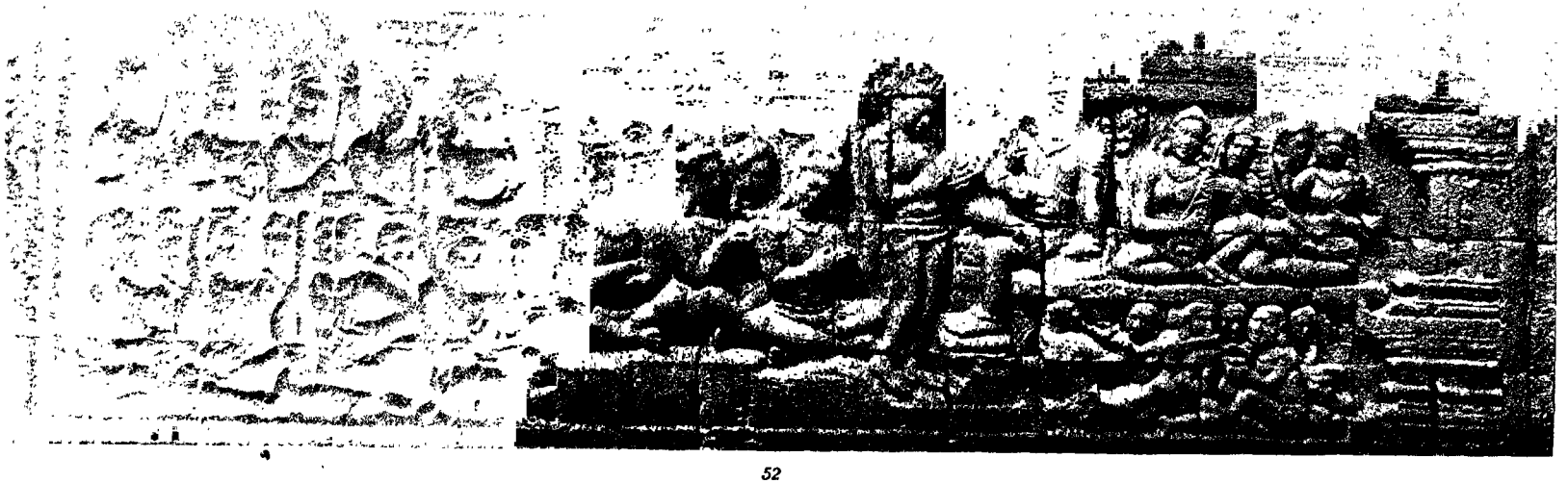
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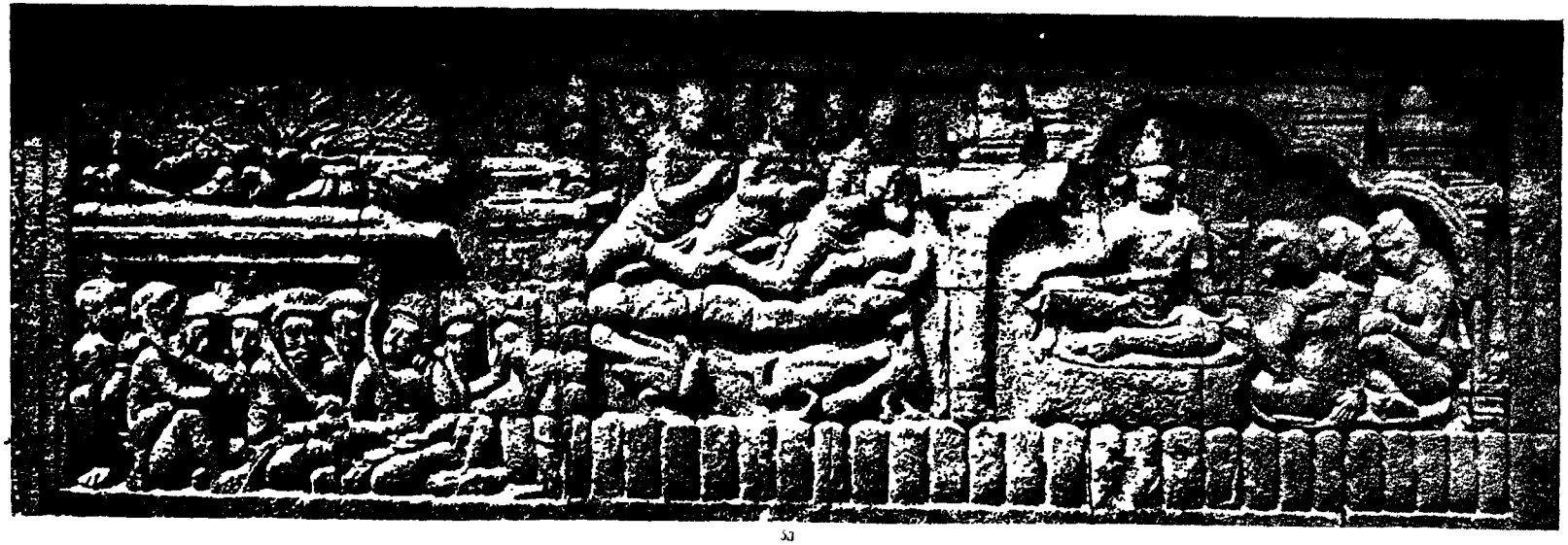
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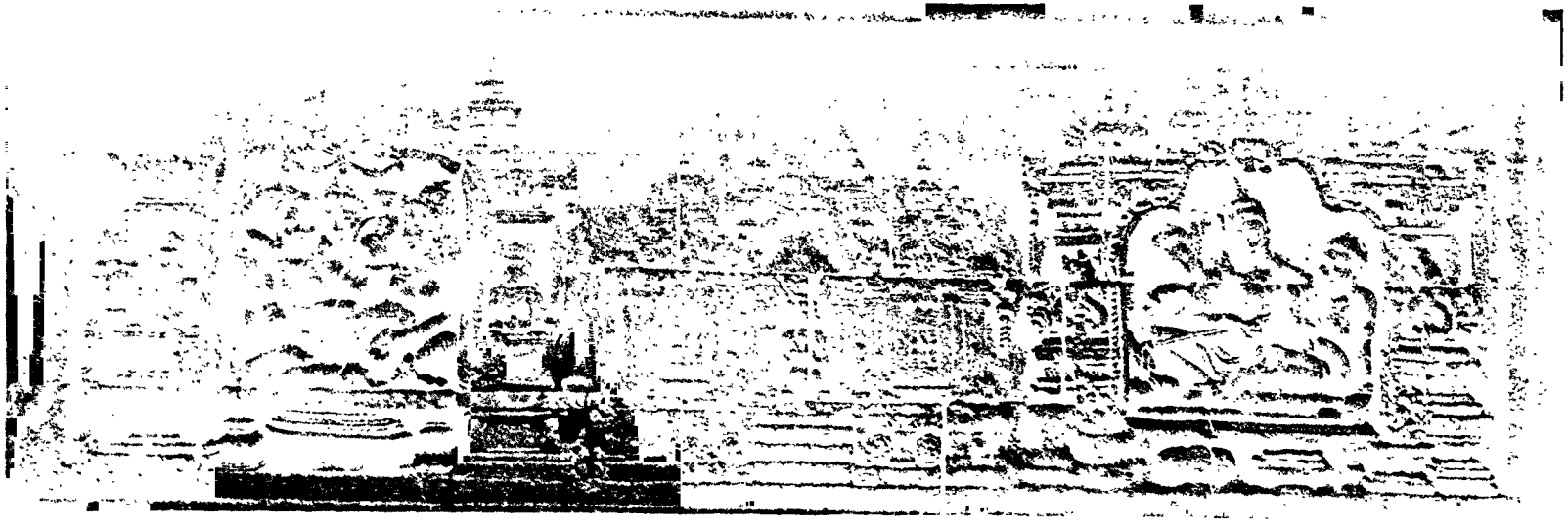
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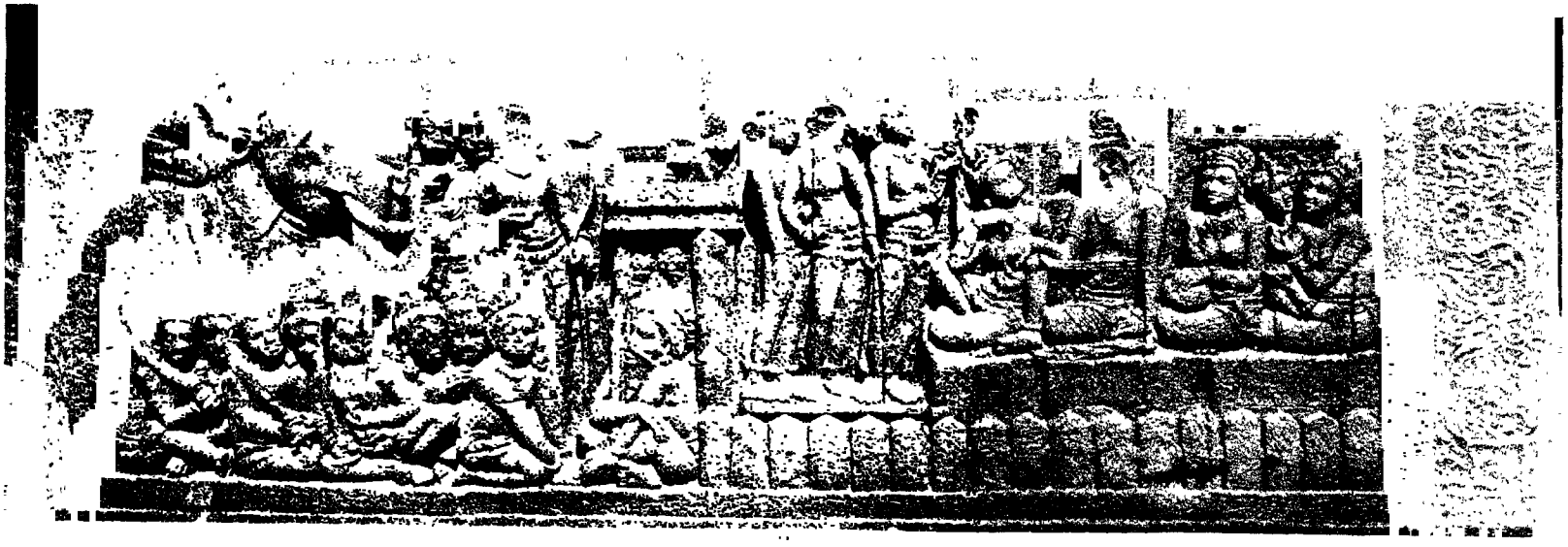
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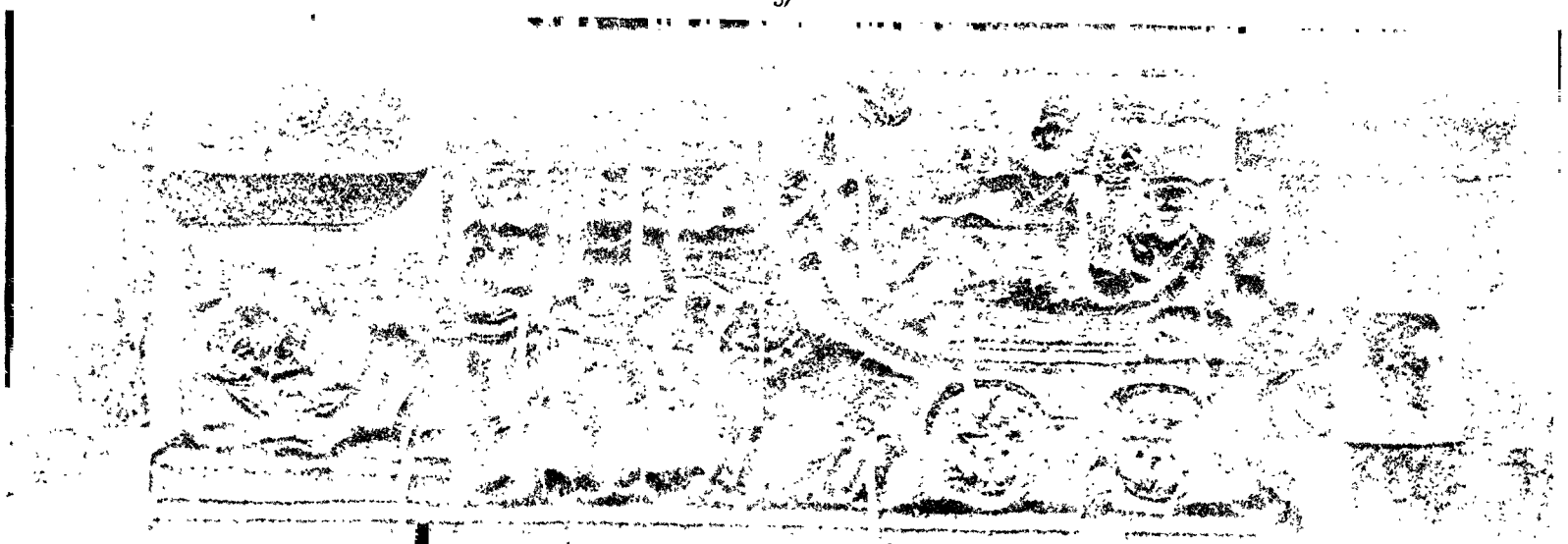
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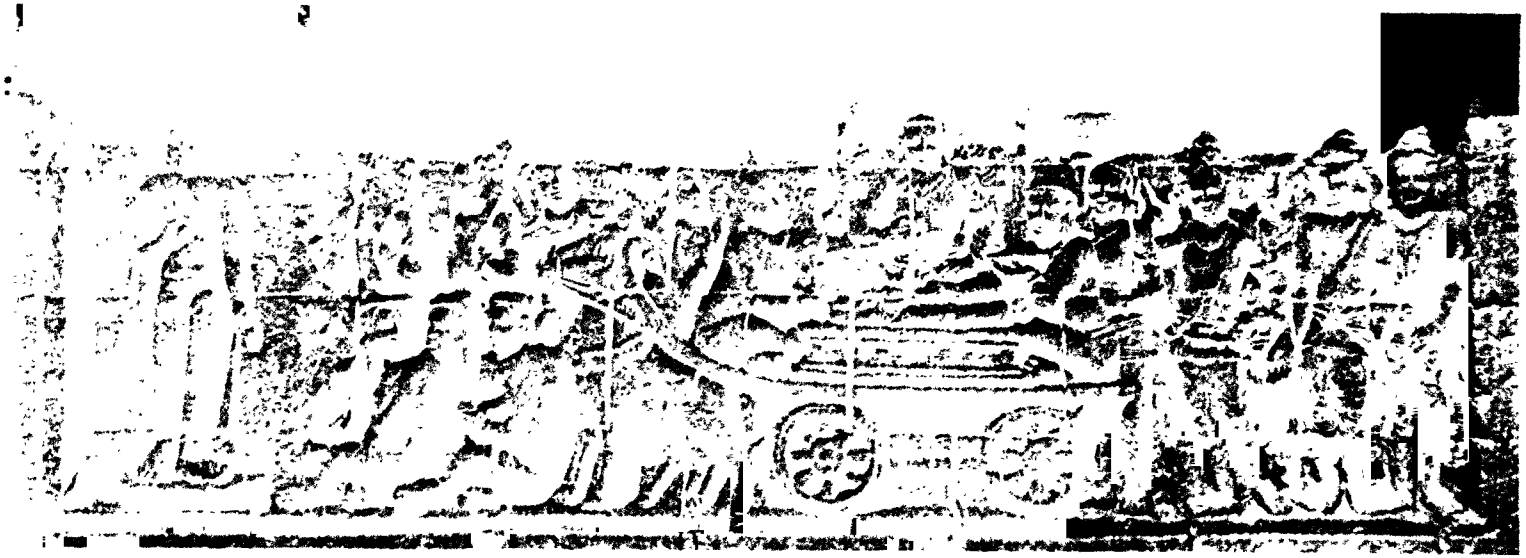




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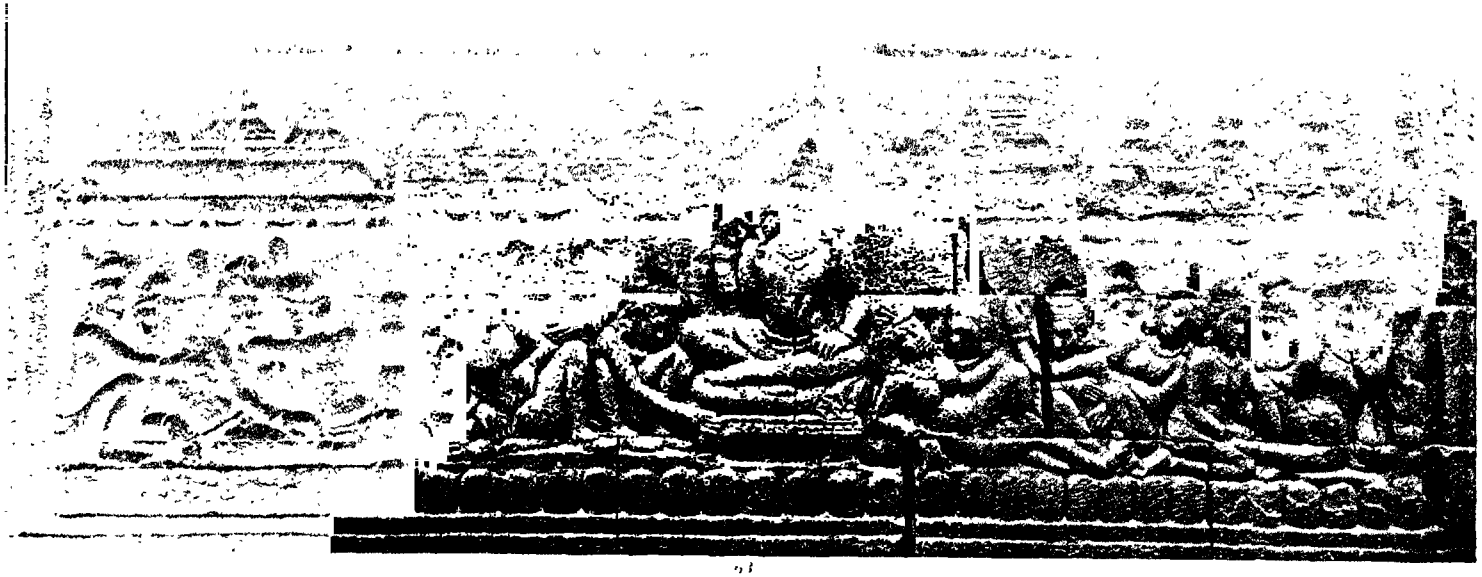


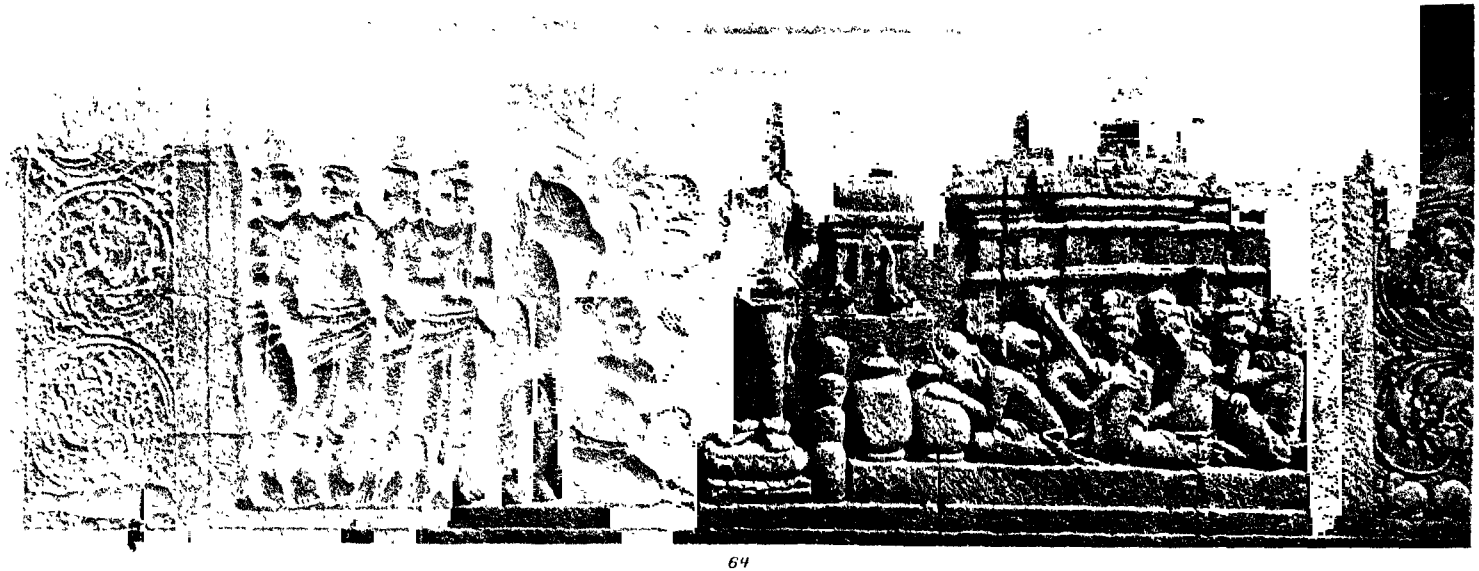


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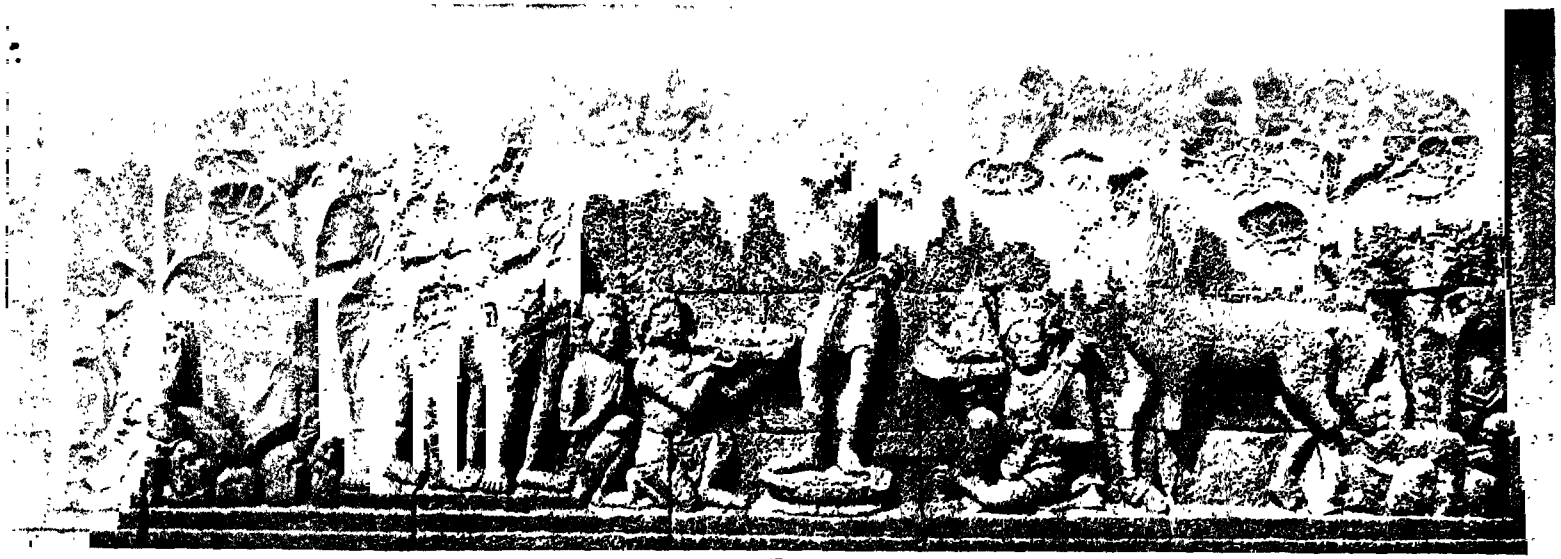
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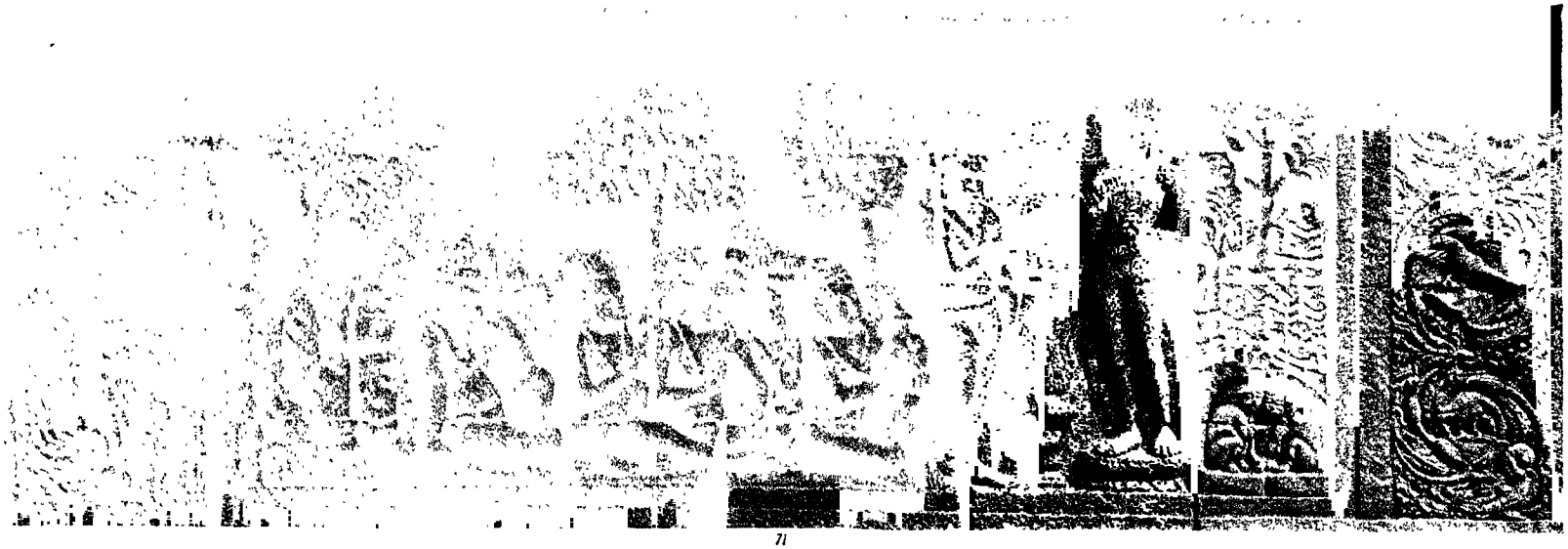
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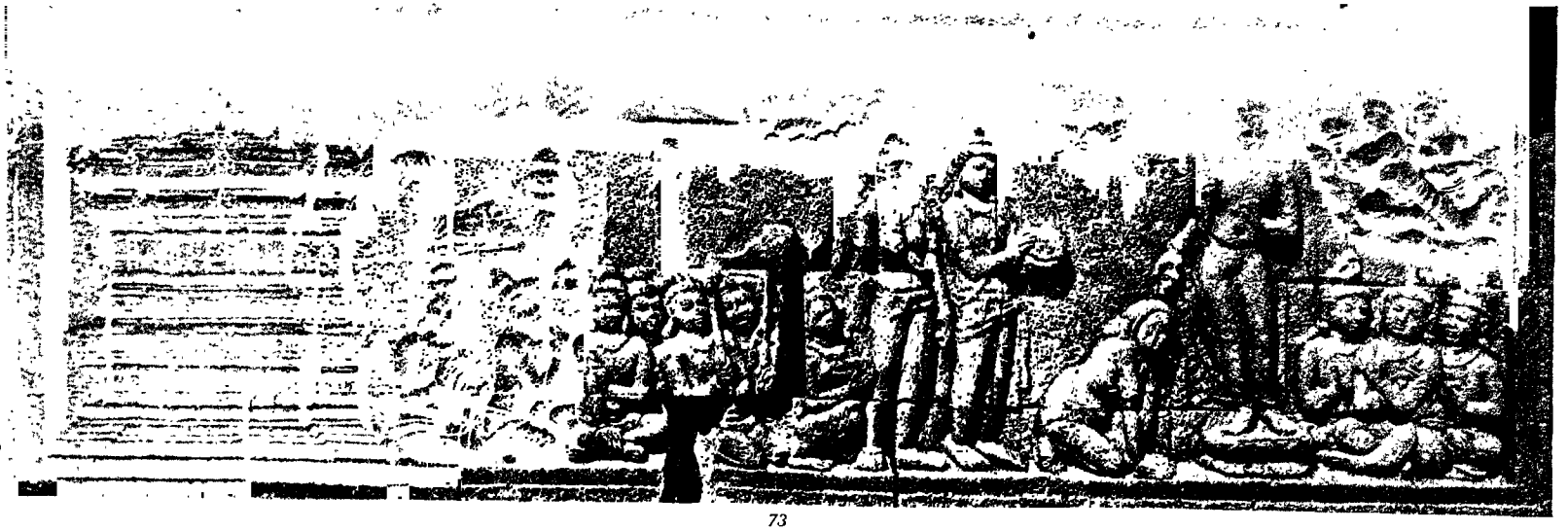
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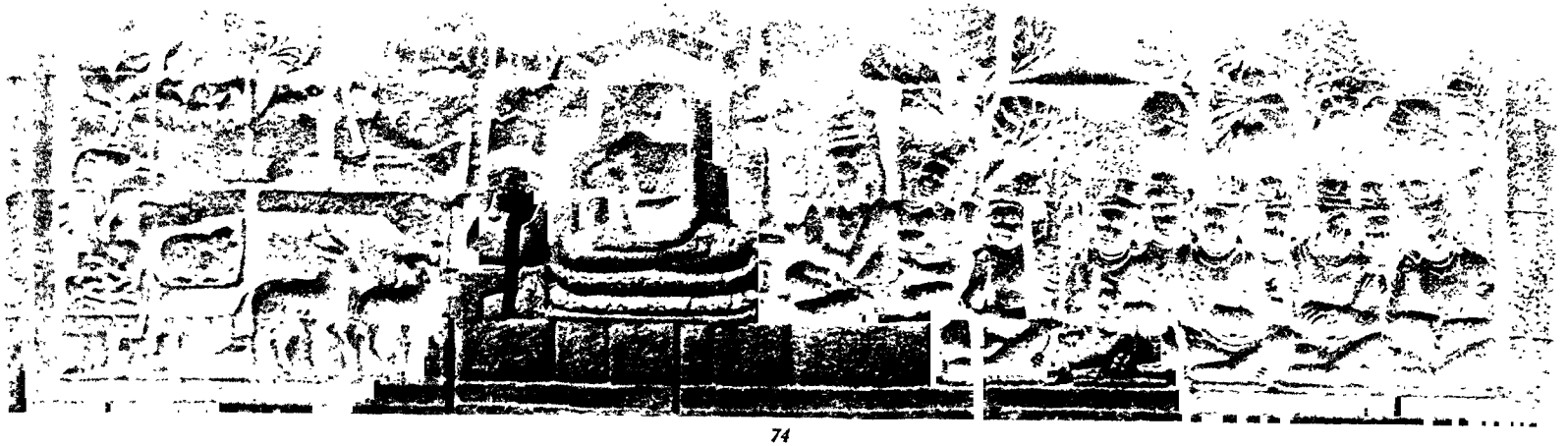
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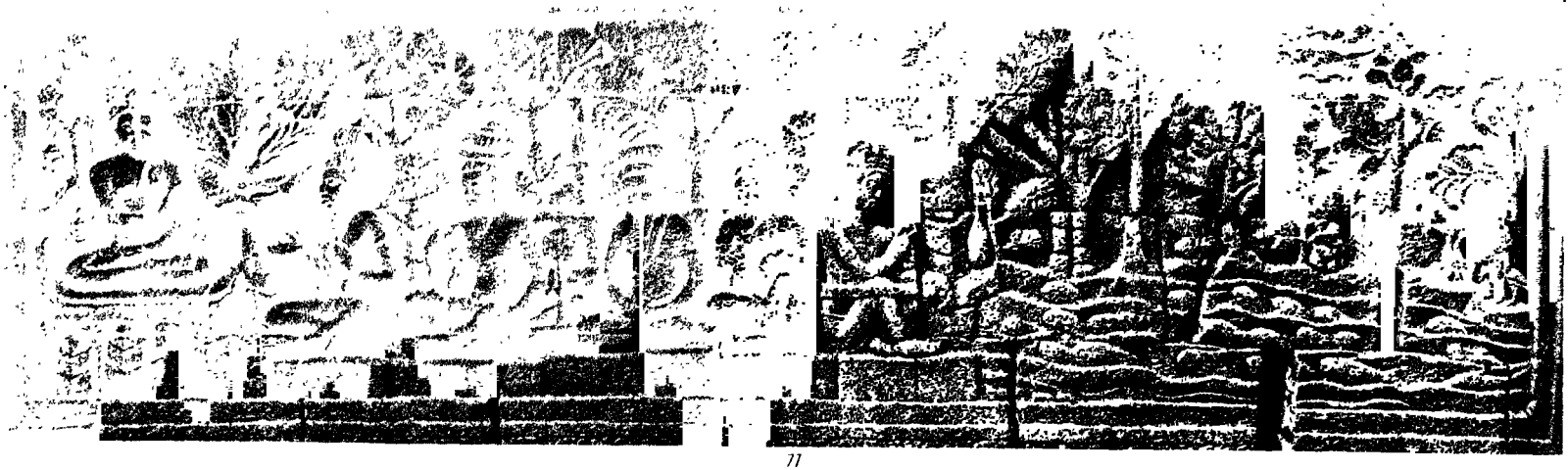
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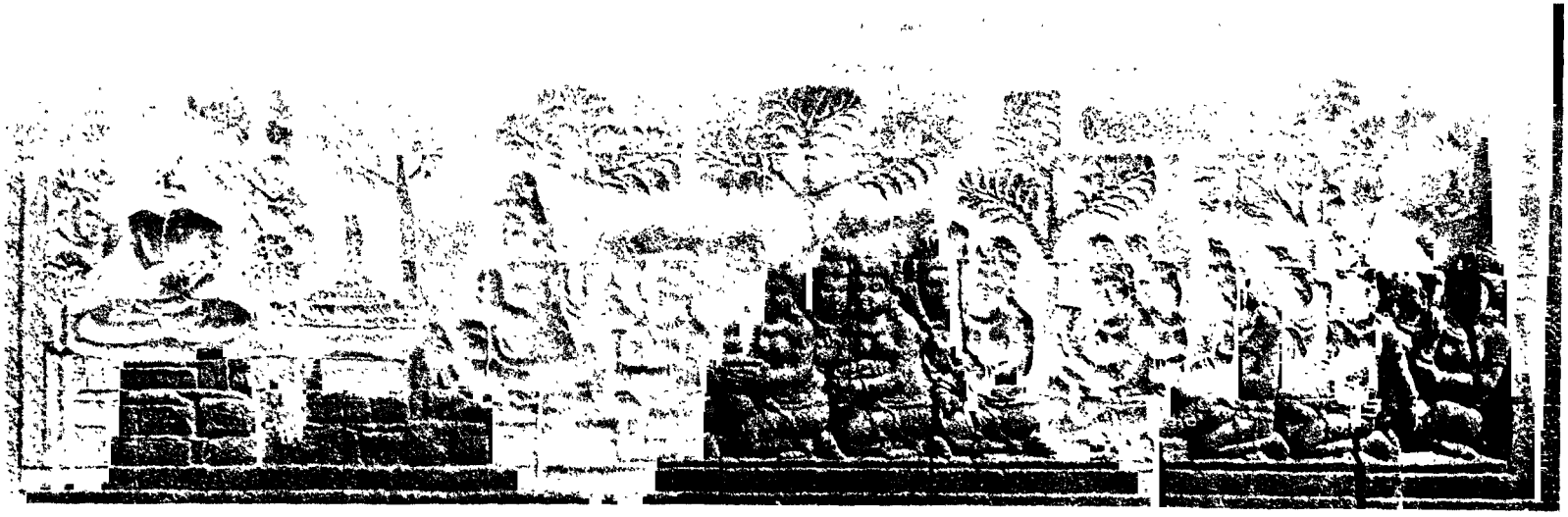
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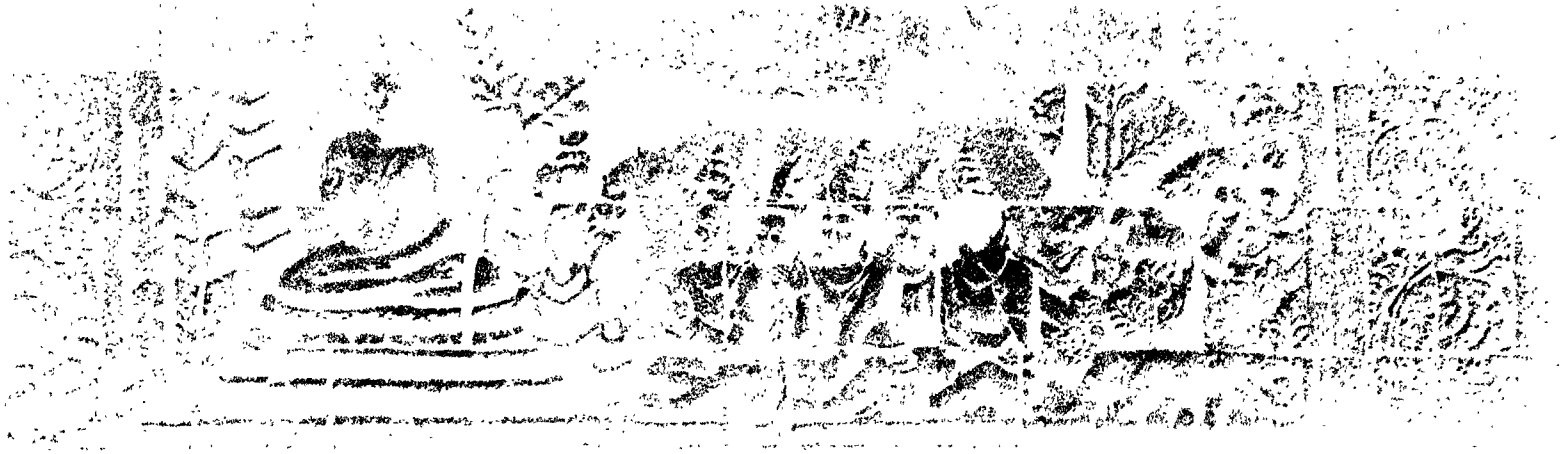
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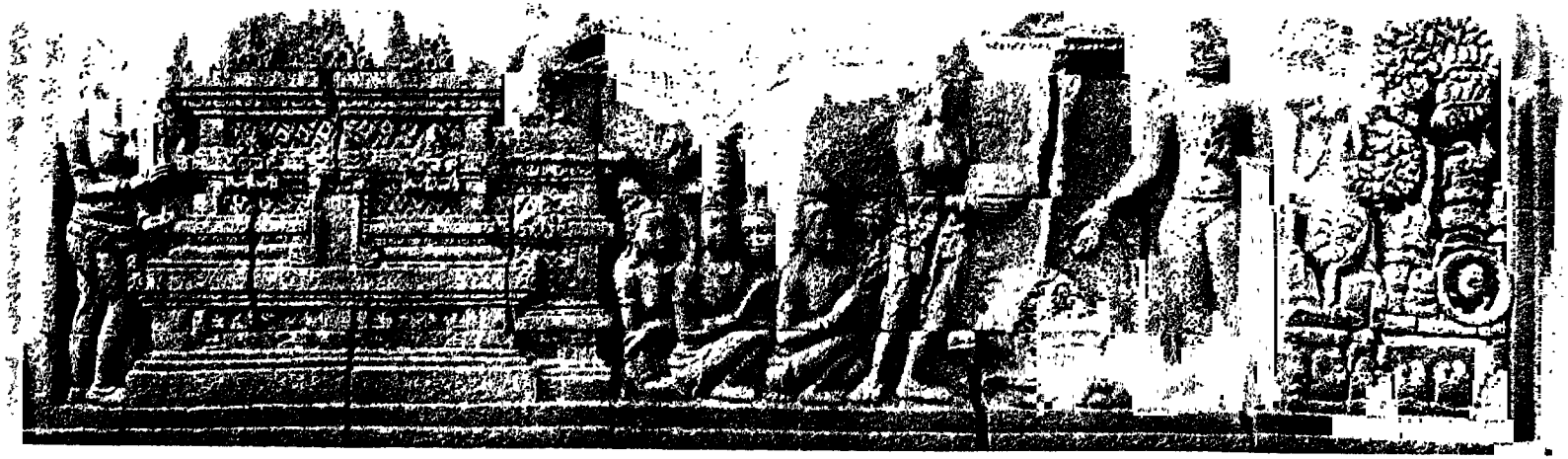
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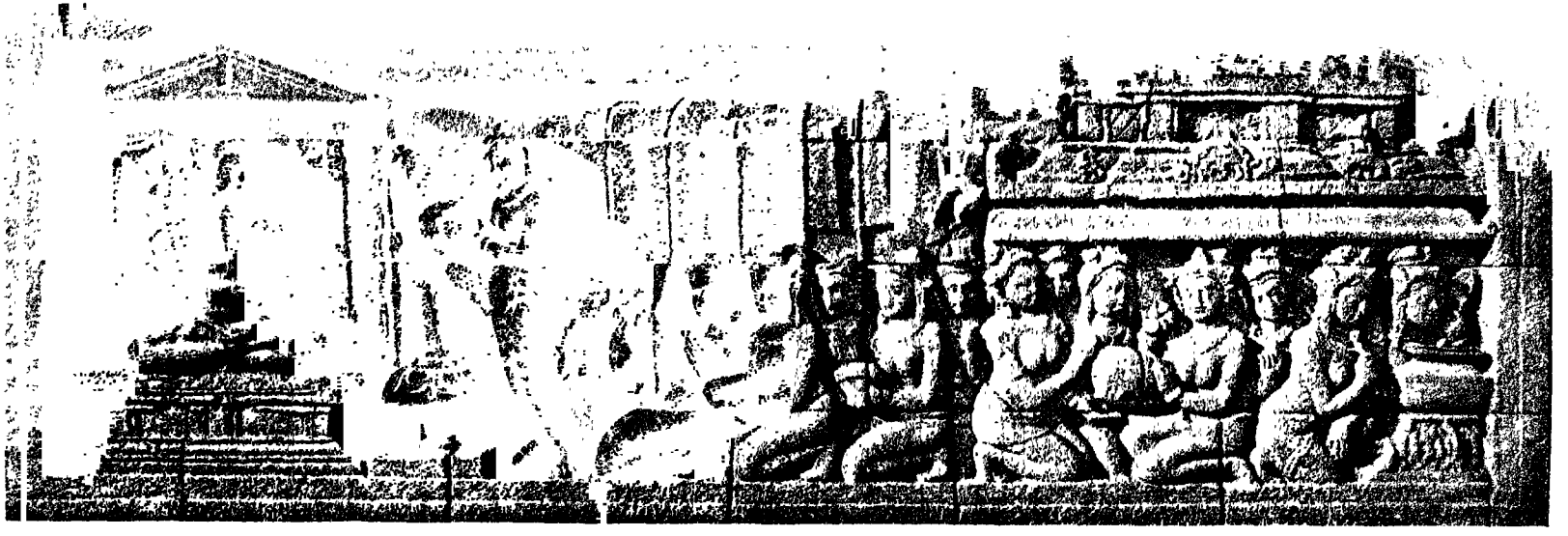
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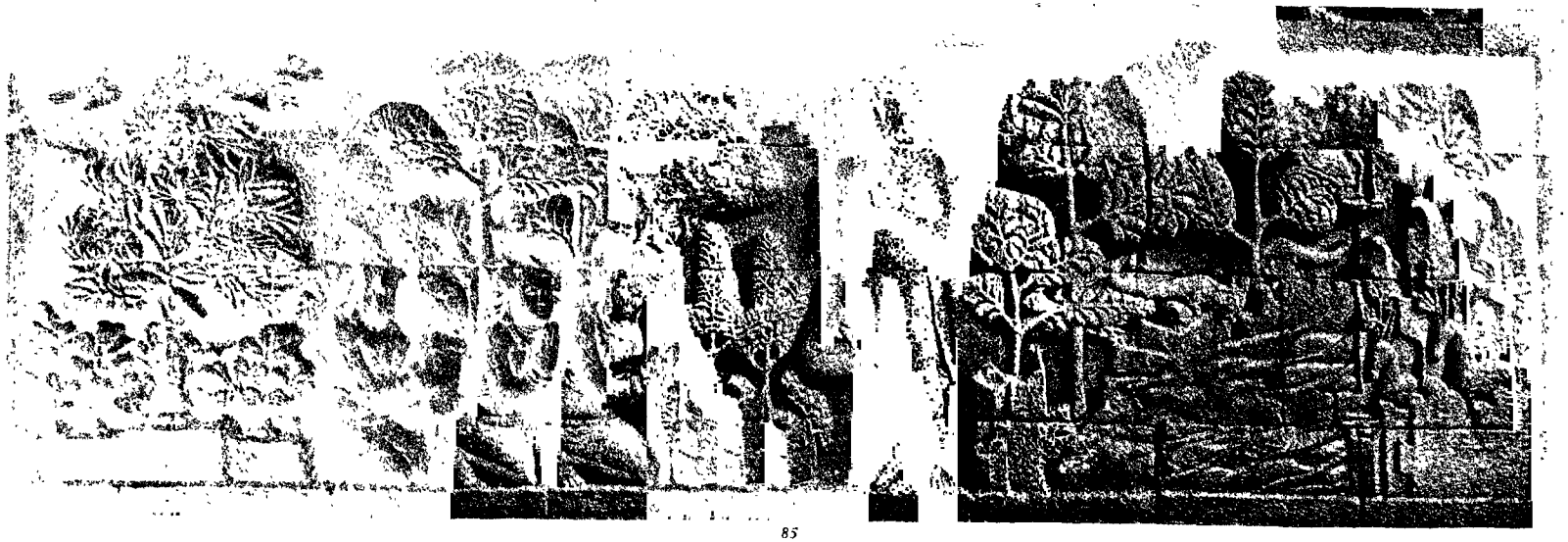
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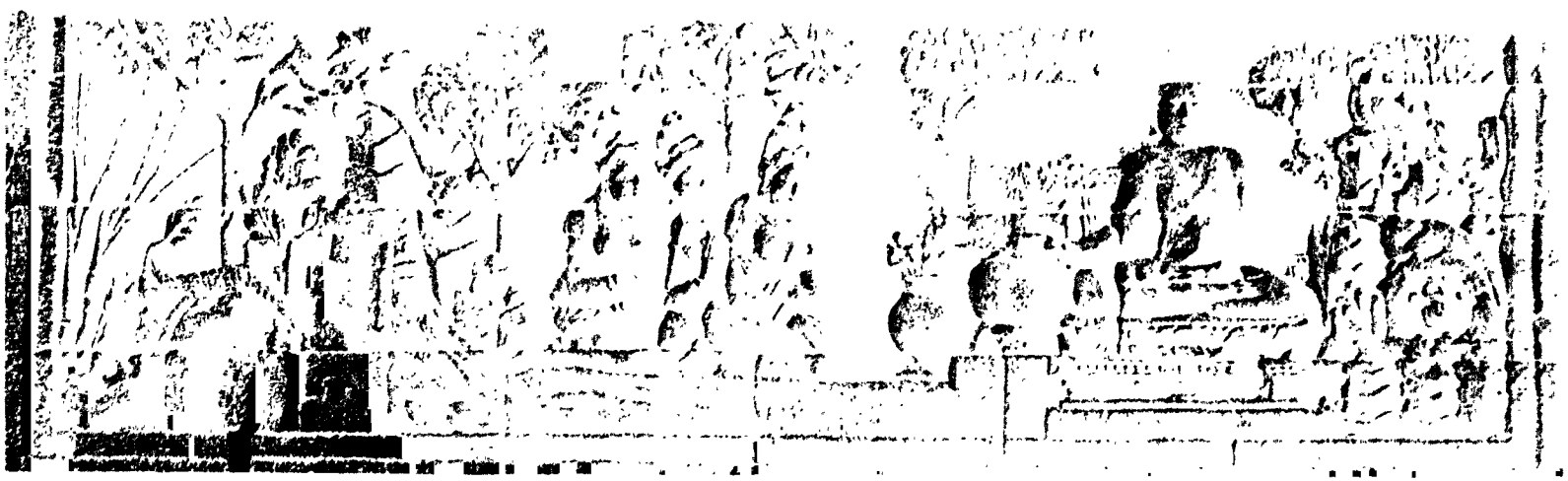
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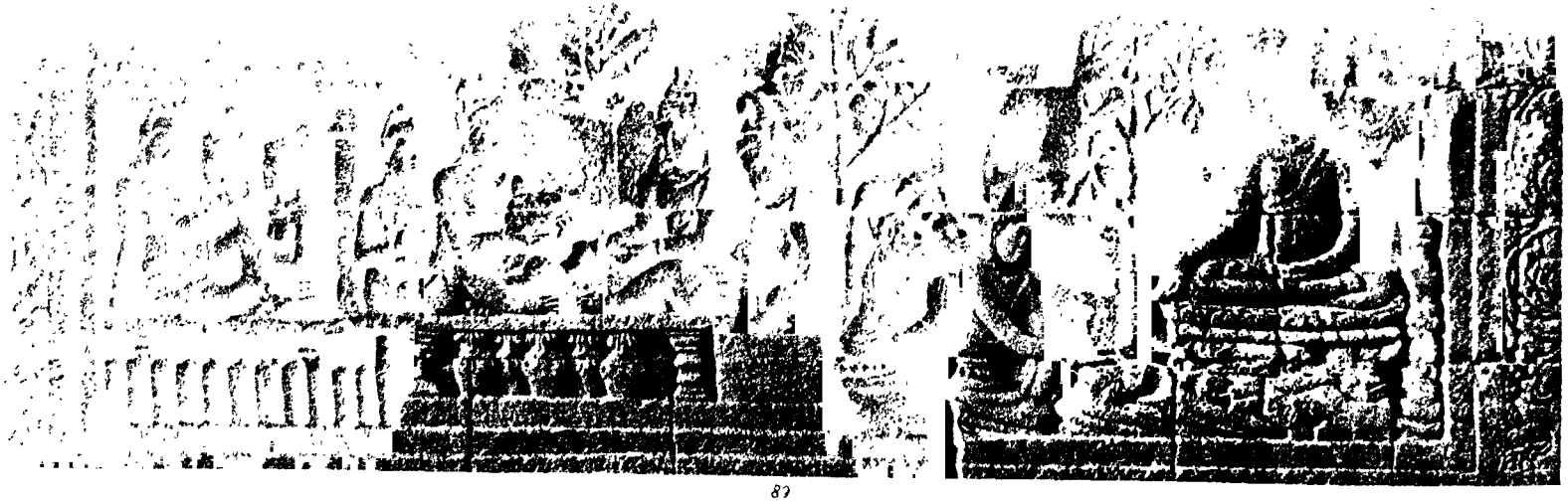
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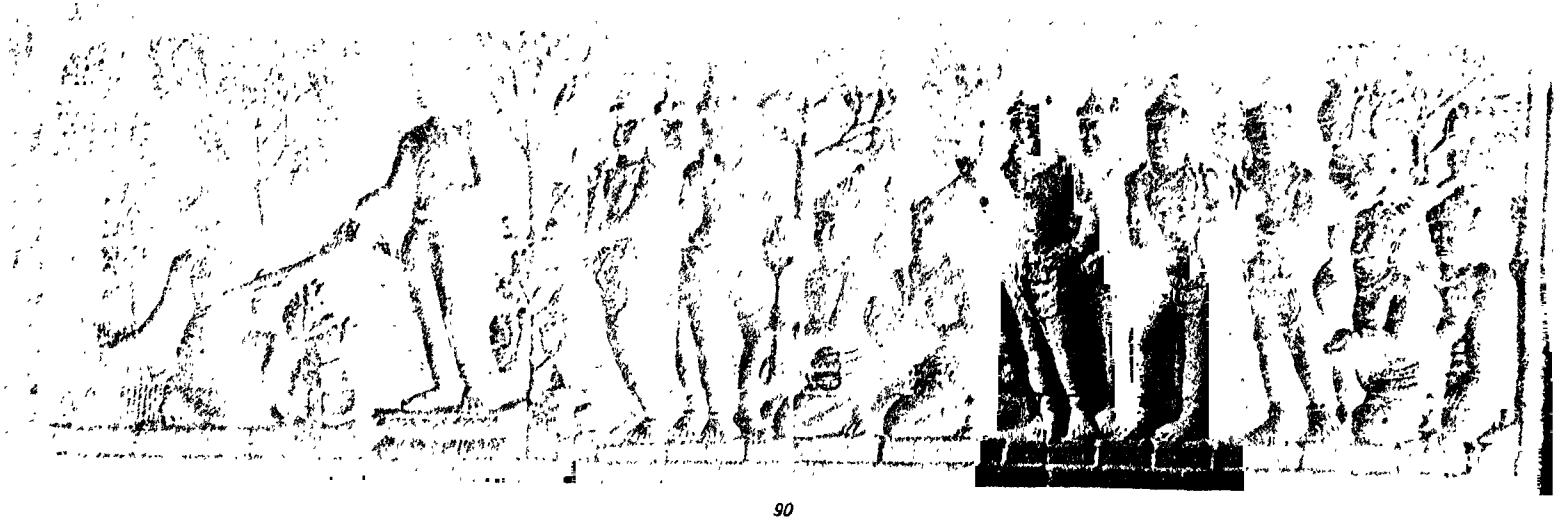
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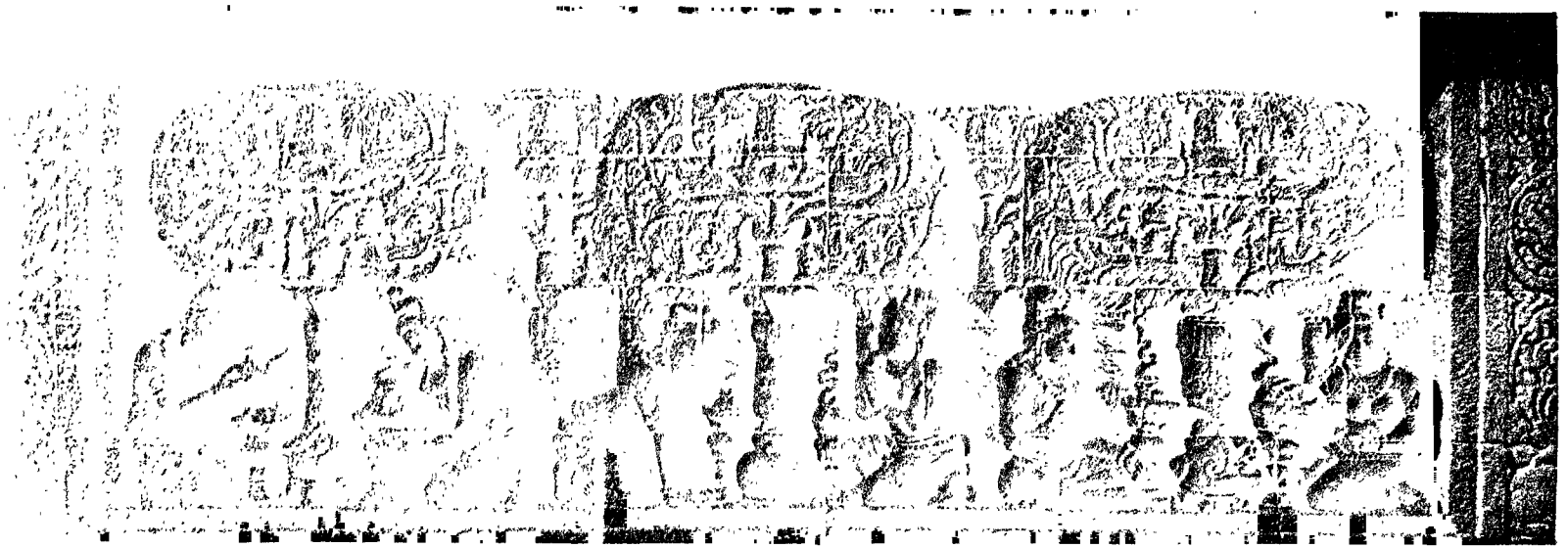
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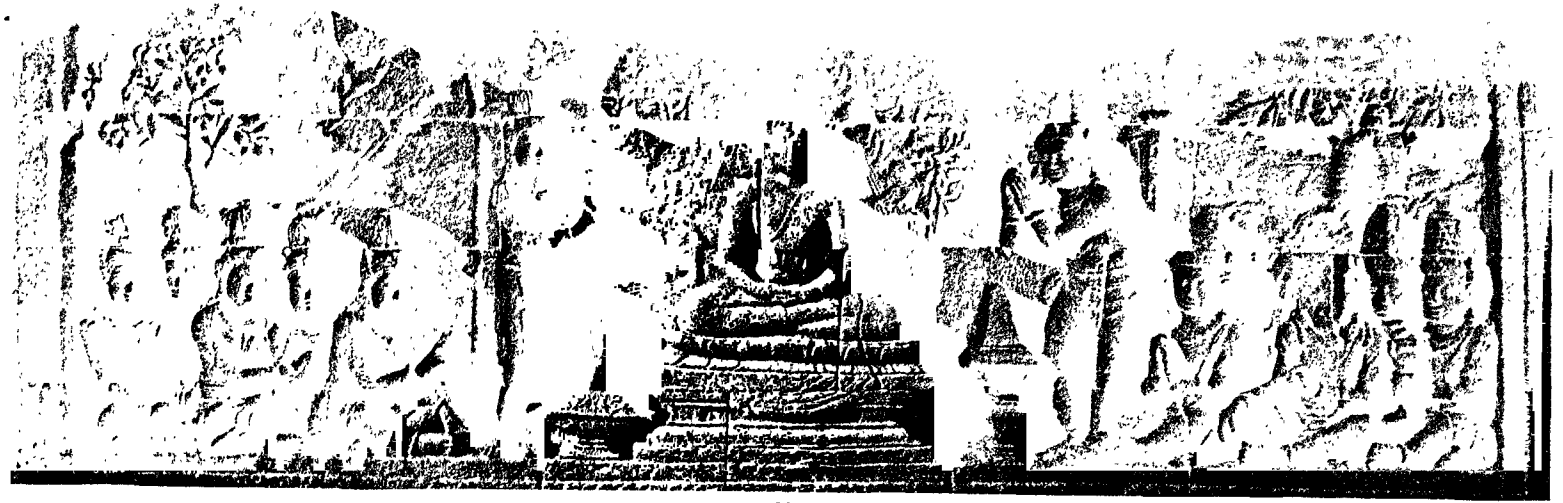
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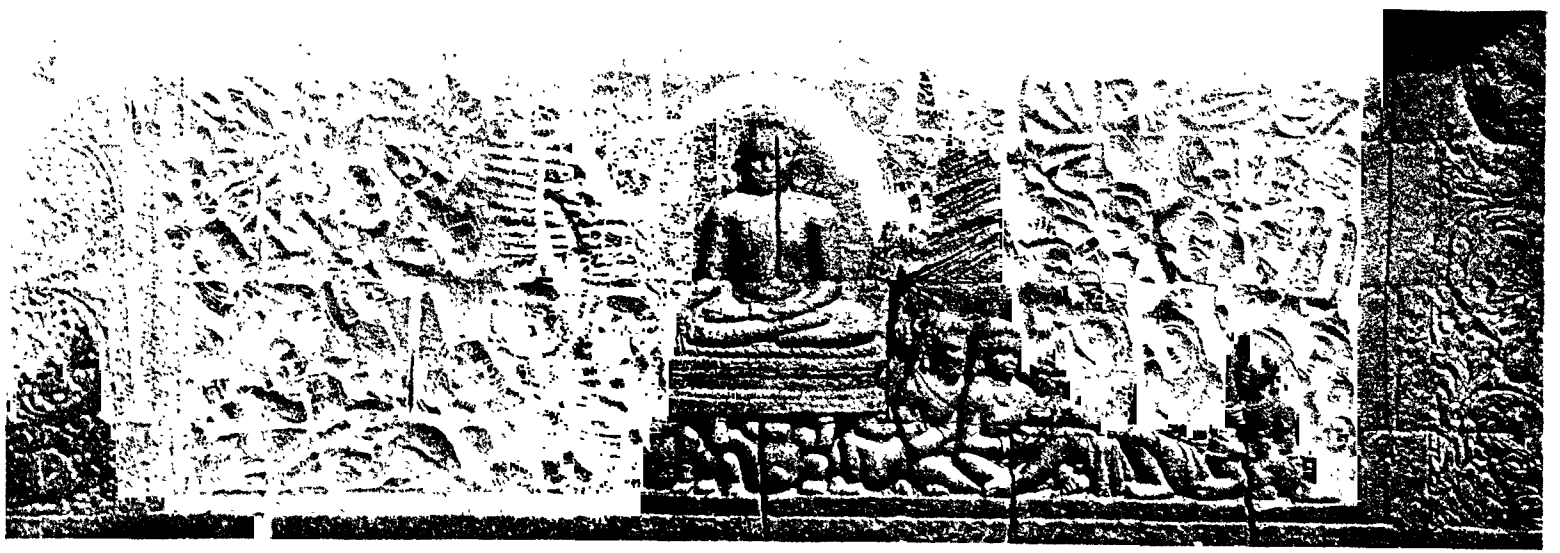
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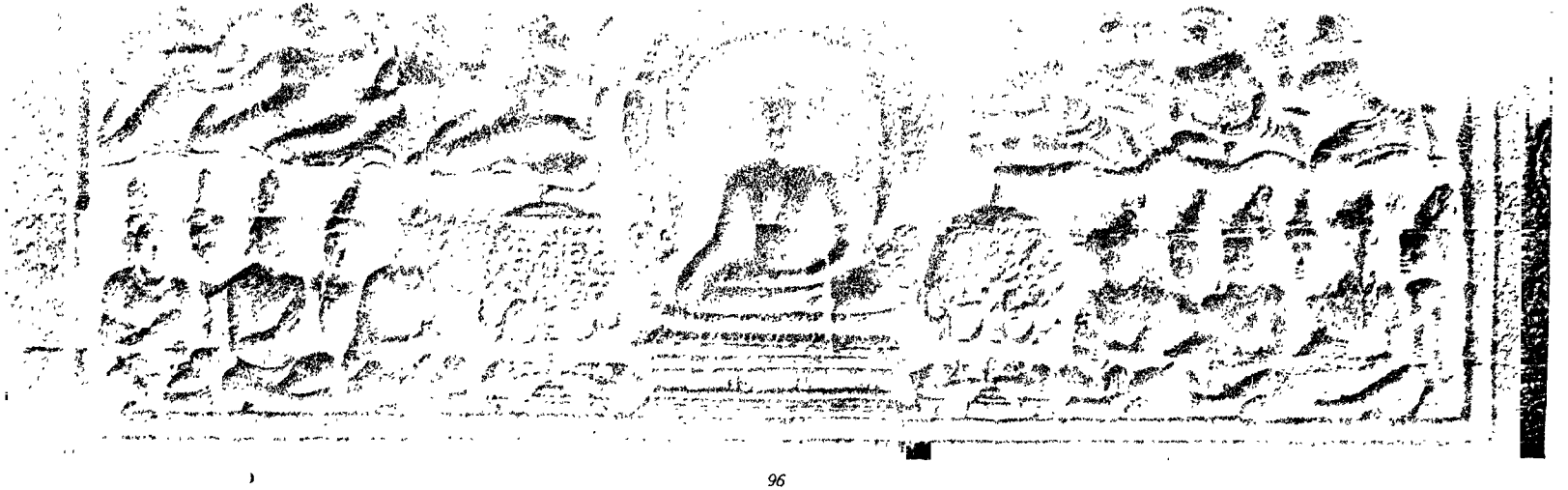
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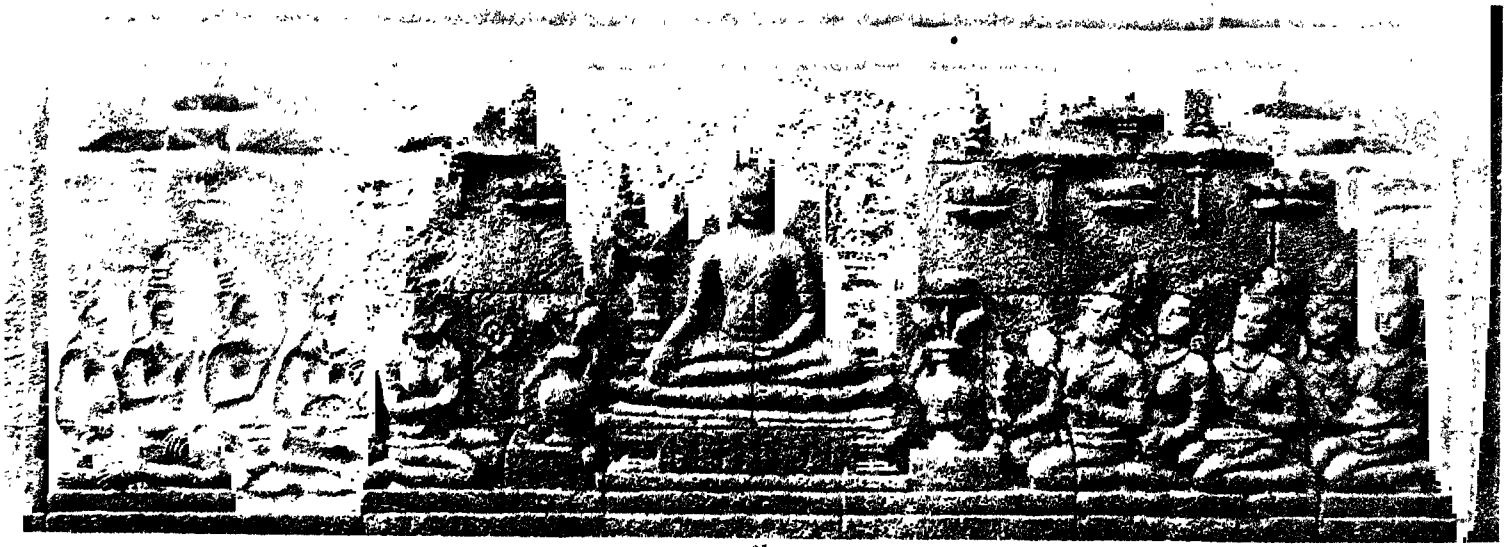
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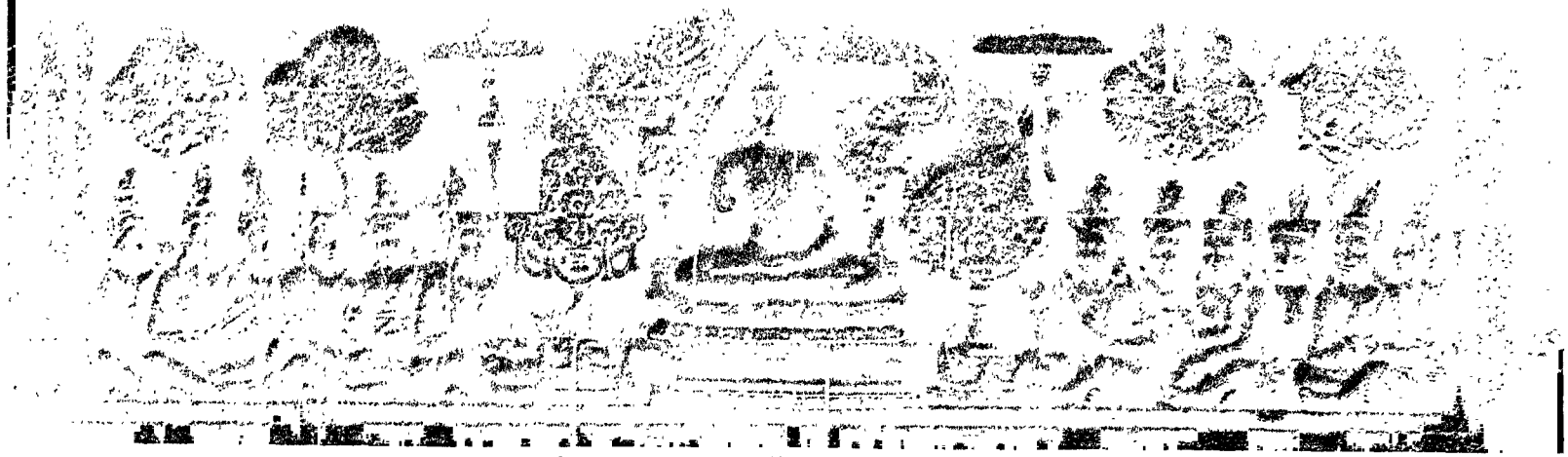
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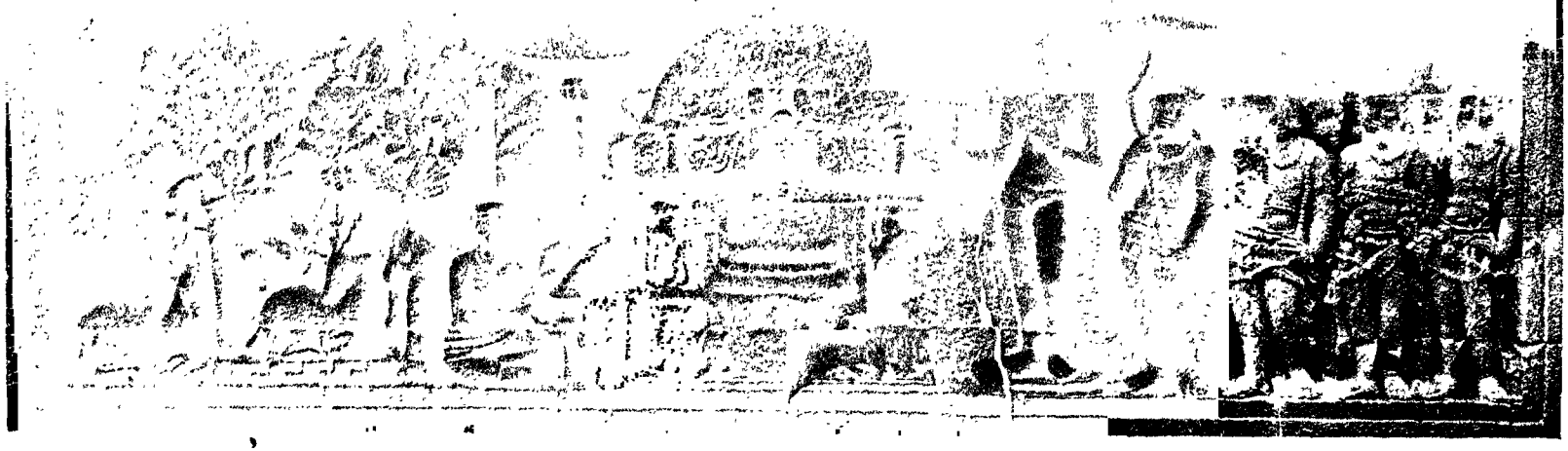
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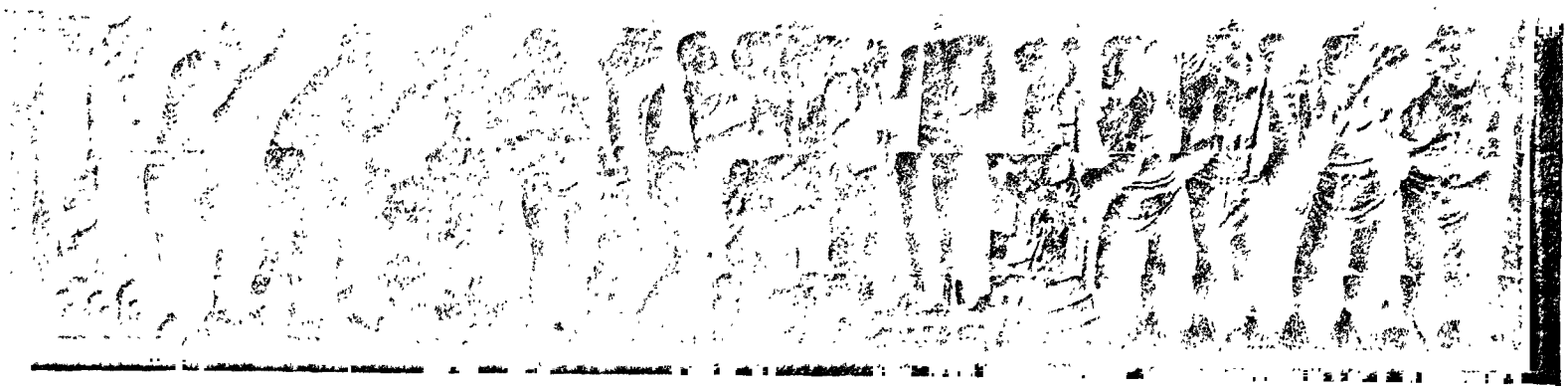
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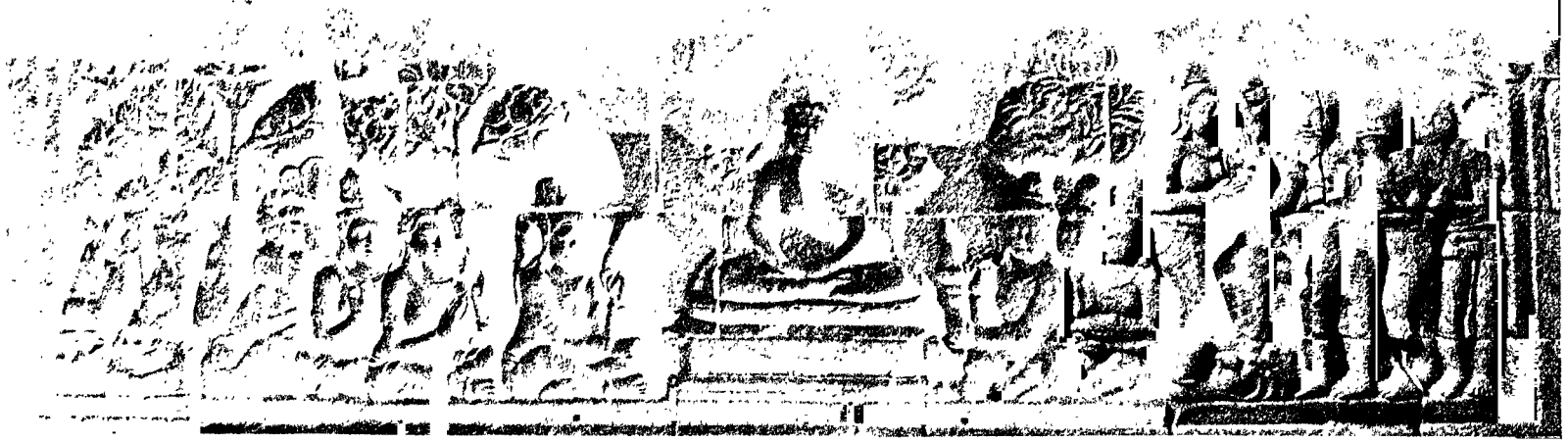
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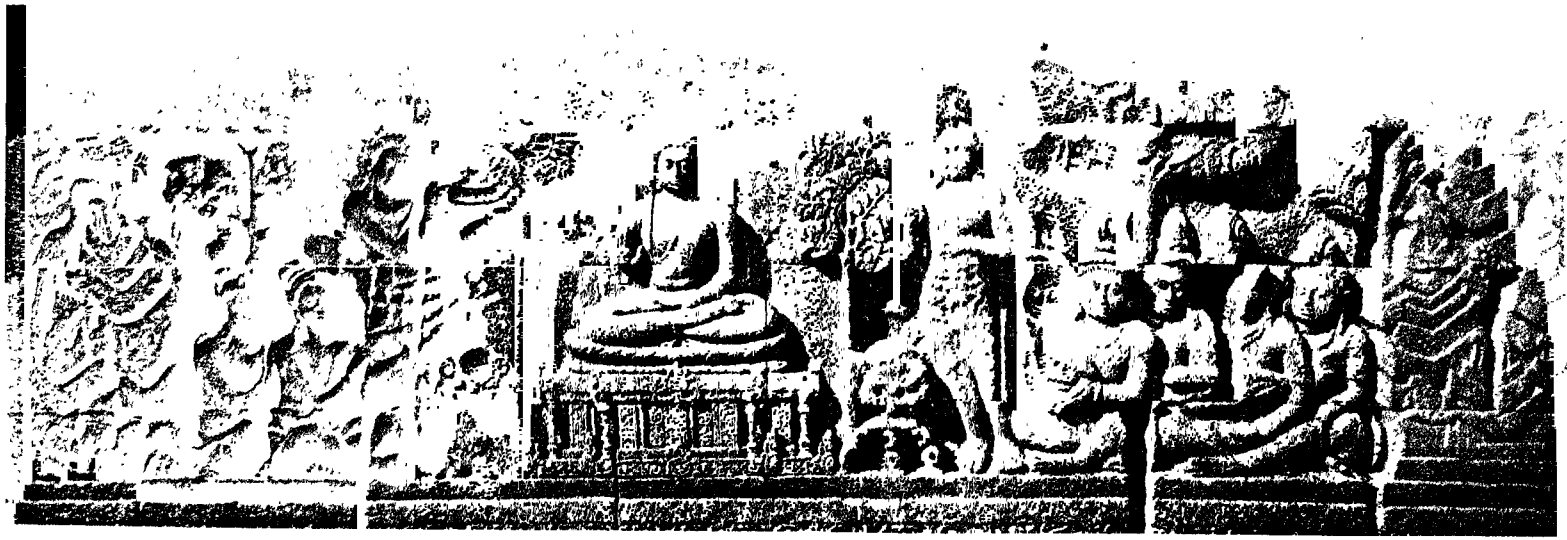
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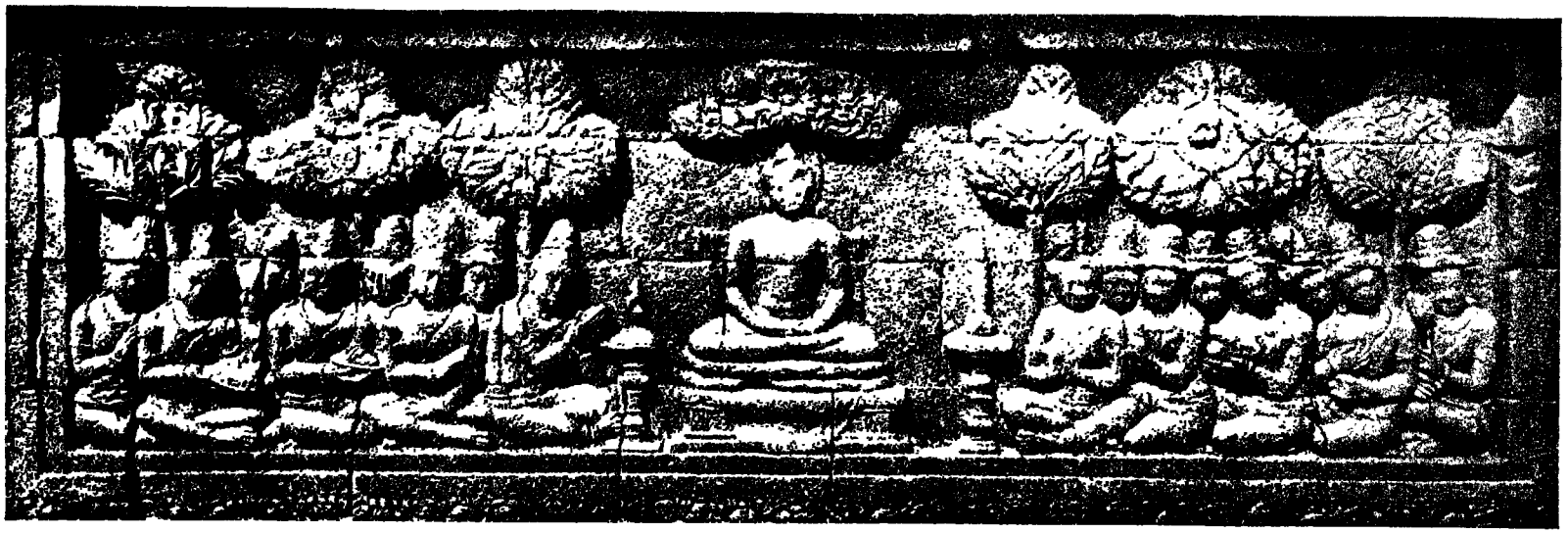
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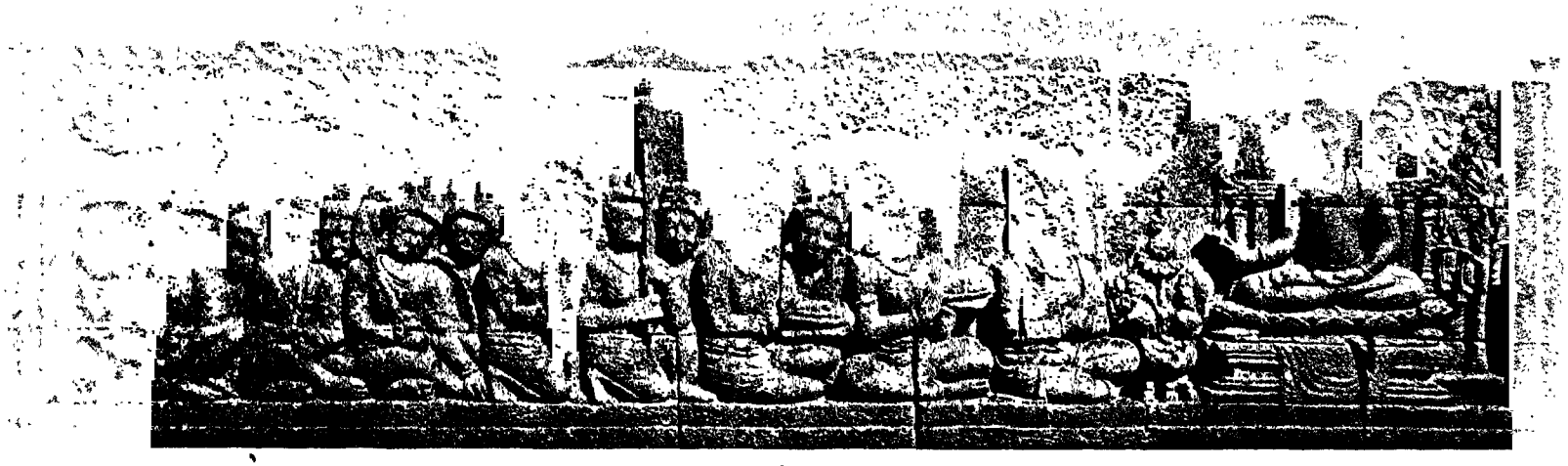
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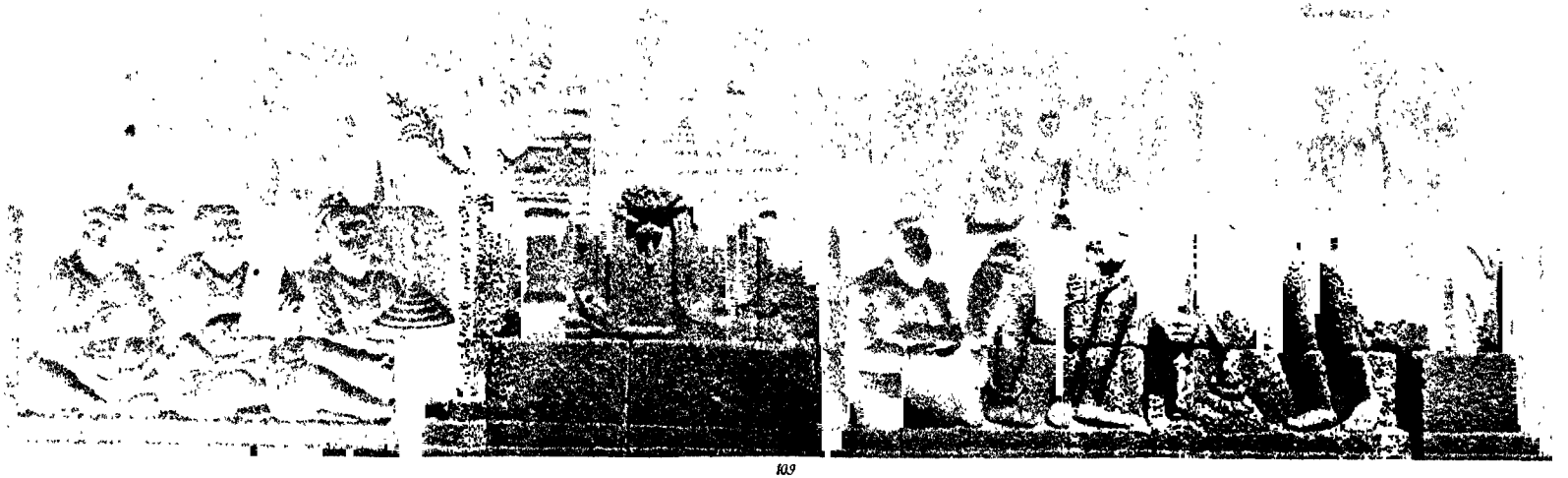
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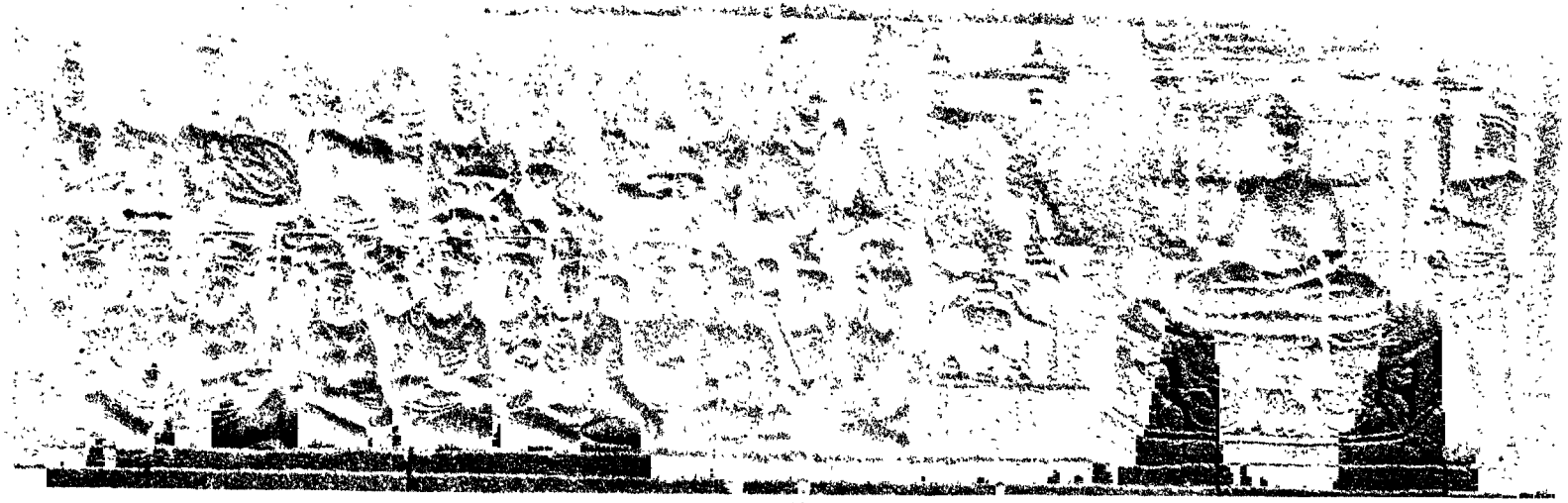
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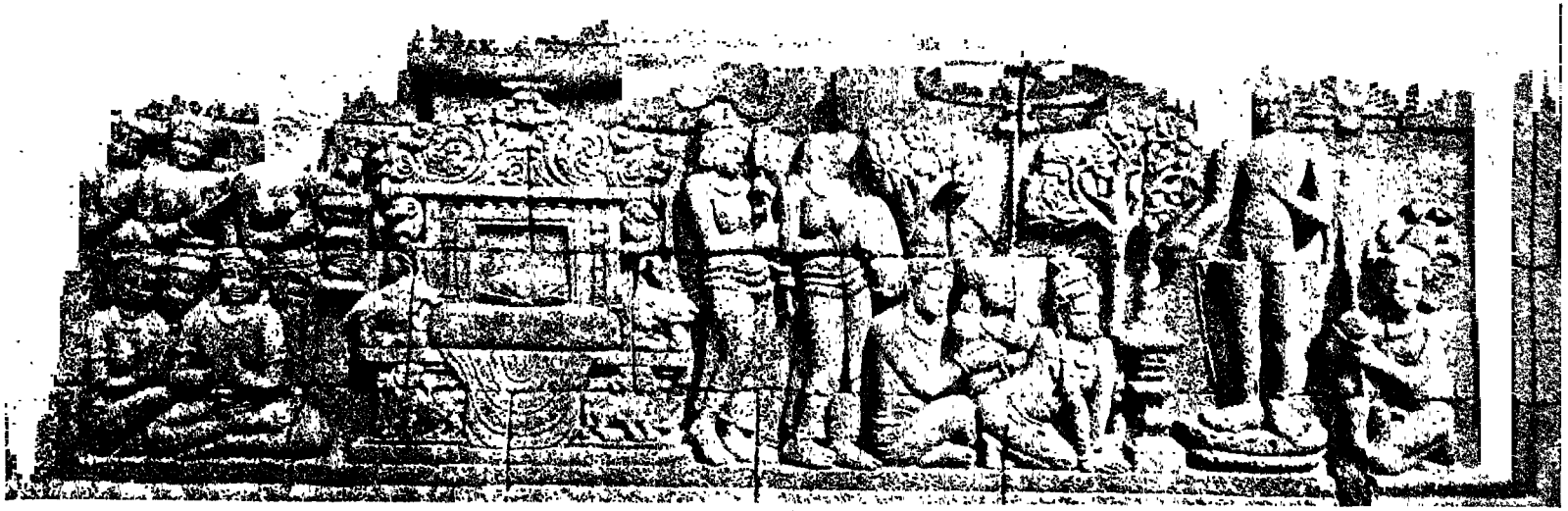
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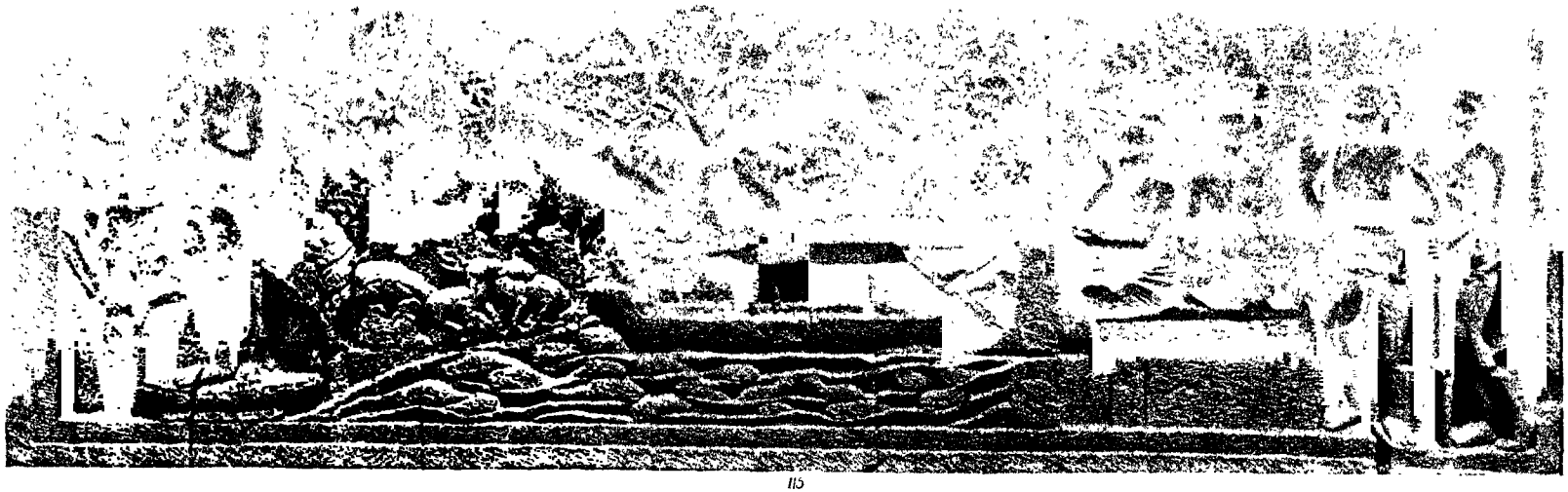
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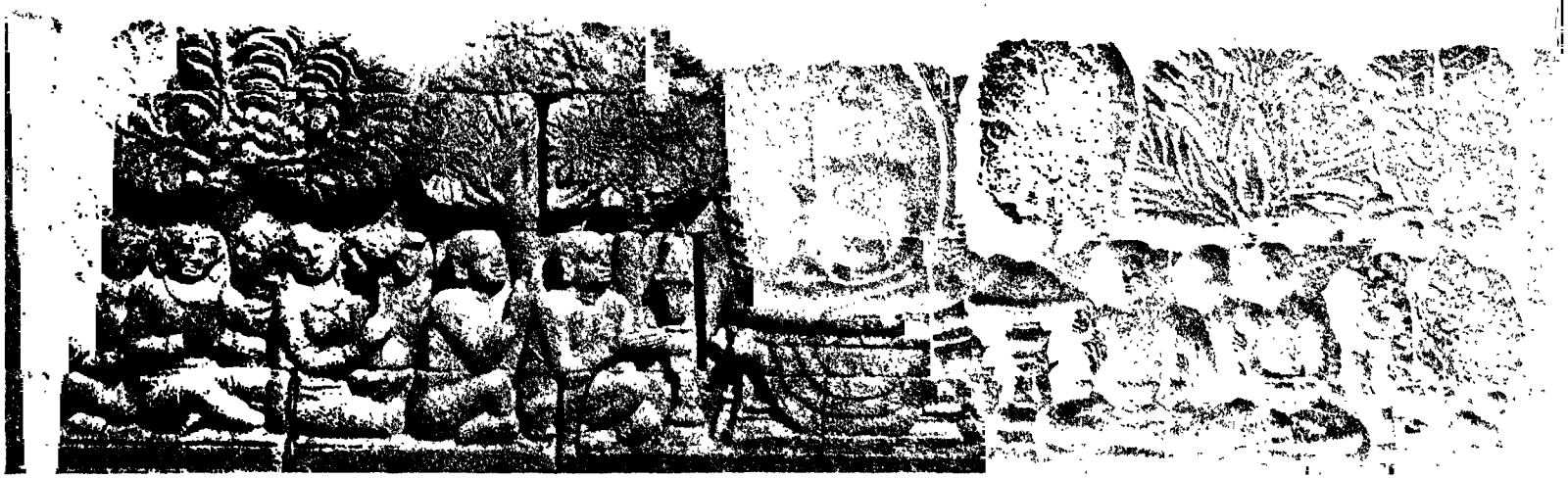
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